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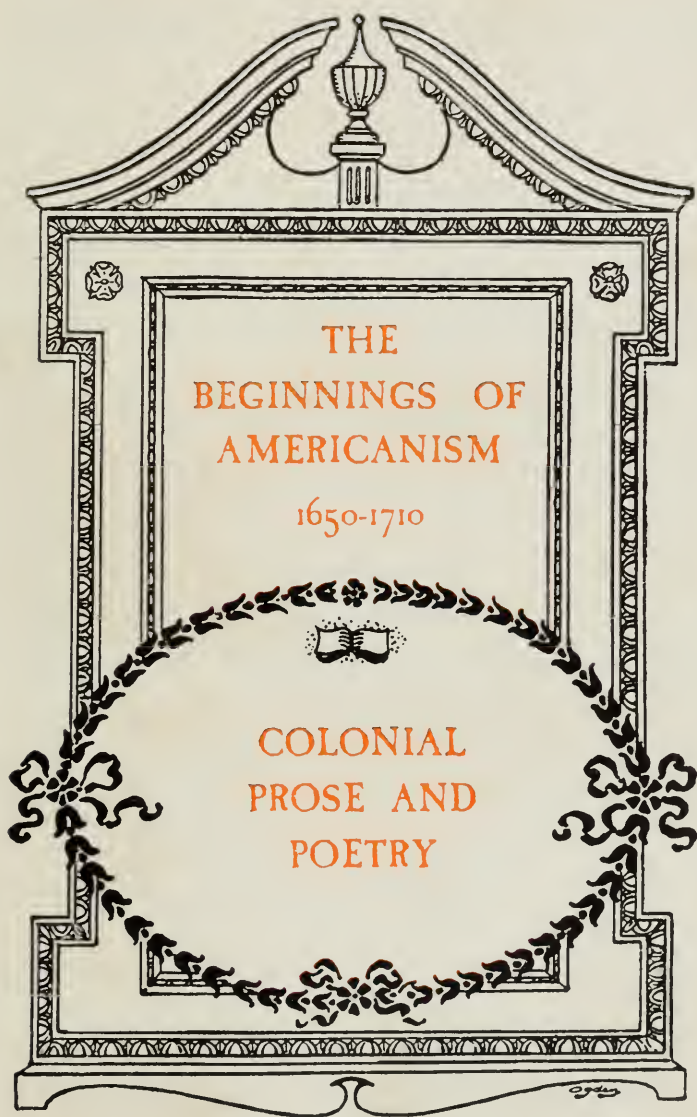
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Cottonus Matherus
J. Thirlby Dector Regia. Societatis Londinensis Vicar.
et Ecclesia apud Postoriam. Veri A. nalerum nuper Erupofitus.
Etatis suae LXV. MDCCXXVII De Portraetum aut viderem pinnat ad Virgum. Front et arant



THE
BEGINNINGS OF
AMERICANISM

1650-1710



COLONIAL
PROSE AND
POETRY

Colonial Prose and Poetry

EDITED BY

WILLIAM P. TRENT

AND

BENJAMIN W. WELLS

THE

BEGINNINGS OF AMERICANISM

1650-1710

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS second volume carries the presentation of American life and thought as expressed in its colonial literature through the first decade of the eighteenth century. It seemed best to include in the general view of colonial literary development given in the introduction to the former volume many of the writers who are presented here, since the logical division of colonial literature is into two periods, while considerations of a practical character render a division into three volumes more desirable.

The year 1688, the date chosen for the close of the first period, corresponds closely with 1676 and the Rebellion of Bacon in political history. The former inaugurated the change which the latter year presaged, and it is at least a curious coincidence that this should be separated by exactly a century from the Declaration of Independence of which it held the presage and the germ. Sixteen hundred and seventy-six was also a year of import alike in New England and in Virginia. It, too, witnessed an outbreak against autocratic misrule, though the storm centre was in Virginia rather than in the Puritan Colonies, and the time was not yet ripe for patriotic insurrection. The same year in New England was the crisis of King Philip's War. So, as the chief historian of our colonial literature, the late Professor

Moses Coit Tyler, has observed, for those two central English communities that year established two great facts : first, that the English colonists already felt themselves so individualized in their national life as to be capable of resisting the authority of England ; and, secondly, that they had so developed their colonial existence as to be able to put down any combination of Indians that might be formed against them. It was as evident to them, from that year onward, as it is to us to-day, not merely that their settlement was safe from annihilation through any outward attack, but also, and hardly less evident, at least to the thoughtful, that they were drifting apart from the mother country in their modes of thought and ideals of democracy.

These facts, quite evident to the student of the politics of 1676, soon become evident to the student of literature also. They are unmistakable in Sewall and Beverly. The whole spirit of Sarah Kemble Knight is that of an independent American woman who to-day would be president of a woman's club. There are foreshadowings of the new spirit, too, in earlier authors, more especially in Johnson, and Gookin, and Folger, though doubtless these elements are more obvious to us, who view them in the light of history, than they were to the contemporaries of those writers, who, with the people for whom they wrote, were building better than they knew for the future of America.

This gradual transformation of our literature may be noticed in almost every department of it, but poetry and theology, being by their nature artificial forms of literary expression, had least of the new spirit, and with these we may begin our general

survey. The historians, diarists, chroniclers, with social reformers such as Gookin, lived more in the press of history in the making, and in these we shall find, therefore, most that is distinctively American. It is not difficult to imagine an Increase or a Cotton Mather, a Wigglesworth or an Oakes in England, even in the days of James or of Mary, but we should hardly find there the like of Gookin, and we should probably have to descend considerably beyond the days of Anne before we should find the like of Judge Sewall or of Sarah Knight.

Among the poets we have chosen Urian Oakes as typical of the Fantastic School, or, as Dr. Johnson called it, the Metaphysical School. To his contemporary, Increase Mather, he seemed "one of the greatest lights that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever likely to arise on this horizon." Indeed, there have been those, even in our more critical time, to whom this product of our "autochthonous culture" has seemed to exhibit "splendid literary capacity," to be at once "affluent, stately, pathetic, beautiful, and strong." But in the words of Urian Oakes himself, "daring hyperboles have here no place," and the reader is likely to perceive in his verse no high reach of original genius. Wigglesworth, on the other hand, was distinctively original. There is little or nothing like *The Day of Doom* in literature, nor like to be, and in its kind it is so good that its jingling verses cling to the mind even of those to whom their conceptions are most foreign, quaint, or even ludicrous. They are thoroughly genuine, — the product of study, indeed, but of study that has translated itself into the life of the soul with a realistic

vision that may be grotesque but is none the less terrible. No other colonial book was more popular in its own day, and very few are more worthy to be read in our own, for the picture afforded of the ideals by which and through which the more strenuous of our American ancestors wrought out their contribution to the national character in striving for individual salvation.

But we should get a false idea, even of the poetry of this period, if we were to seek its representatives merely in the verse-writers of whom Oakes and Wigglesworth are typical. Neither classical culture nor intensity of religious conviction could keep even poets from the pressing problems of daily life, and so the crude poem of Folger is here to remind us that for these colonists, as for later reformers, the truth of conviction lay in the application of it; that Christianity was not only a scheme of salvation to be studied in Wigglesworth's doggerel verse, but a mode of life to be practised toward the Indians and even toward those fellow-Christians who, having separated from the Separatists, had become to them anathema. In Folger we have one of the first efforts to turn poetry to the use of politics in our American life. He was destined later to find many imitators. In general, however, it is clear that the poetry represented in this volume is a survival of a not very vigorous past. It is not here that we are to look, in the first instance at least, for literature that shall be interpretative of life.

Nor shall we find it any longer even in the theologians. These bore an important part in our first volume; now they are relegated to a minor place. But four of the prose writers from whom this volume con-

tains selections were clergymen, and but two of these, the Mathers, were very typical of their class. The contrast between this period and the preceding is so great as to be surprising until we recognize in it the natural result of the development of independent colonial life. Our prose writers are still in the main New Englanders, either by birth or choice. The biographers of Bacon, and Denton, Alsop, Penn, and Beverly are the only exceptions that find place in this volume. All the more marked then is the change of temper that has come over New England since King Philip's War. At the very outset we find a prototype of the new temper in Edward Johnson, that sturdily characteristic Puritan, whose faith in wonder-working providences was accompanied by a zeal to coöperate in them, alike in ecclesiastical and in civic life. He seems to move in the constant thought of an overruling Providence, yet to lose nothing of his self-dependence, and his attitude to his God finds a sort of counterpart in that assurance which he was selected to present to the English king "of loyalty with a determination to maintain all rights and privileges." The Apostolic Eliot too was a practical statesman and man of action, as well as an indefatigable missionary and somewhat credulous linguist, — sincere, sweet, winning, lovable, full of the dauntless confidence of faith, yet full, too, of a sort of canny wisdom in which we recognize incipient New England. The Mathers belong rather in temper to a generation whose passing away they witnessed. They were of the Brahmin caste, hereditary clergymen and hierarchs, conservatives to the core, lauding old times and bewailing the new, piling up literary monuments

of indefatigable industry for the admiration, if not the edification, of their successors, — prodigious in their learning, philanthropic in their spirit, but sympathizing in their nature with that which was reactionary, ascetic, and pedantic, in a generation that was already beginning to feel the intoxication of liberty. The very bulk of the work of the Mathers makes them loom large in any literary prospect of this period, yet their importance is rather as illustrative of the past than as indicative of what to them was present or future. It is not without interest, however, to find in Cotton Mather a municipal reformer contending against very much the same evils as those that vex the American cities of to-day, and seeking to meet them with the same well-meant exaggeration of exhortation, and the same inability to adapt inherited standards to changing social ideals. This same representative of fantastic pedantry was also, in his advocacy of the application of the principle of collective activity to the problems of moral reform, the precursor by a century and a half of another Boston clergyman, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, and he was one of the most resolute advocates of inoculation for smallpox. And Increase Mather representing his colony in England was a forerunner of Franklin.

Turning now to that more numerous and more interesting group of writers who deal with colonial life as they saw it, whether as annalists such as Hubbard and Gookin, as descriptive writers like Denton and Alsop, as diarists like Sewall and Knight, as genially credulous travellers like Josselyn, or as aristocrats of colonial democracy like Penn, we find ourselves immediately in a more congenial atmosphere. Already

in Josselyn there is a breezy frankness of criticism, a sense of humor, that is refreshingly human, a curiosity quite worthy of the Yankee that he was not, as though in his brief sojourn he had been inoculated with the virus of New England, and with something of that credulity that is apt to go with "smartness." This distinctively new note is caught most clearly in our extract dealing with the "Men of Maine." Another New England trait, the minding of other people's business for their good, found one of its first noteworthy representatives in Daniel Gookin, English by birth, Puritan in feeling, but sufficiently catholic in sympathy to cover effectively with the mantle of his charity, not merely the fugitive English regicides, perhaps no very parlous task in the New England of that day, but even, what was a far more serious offence in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, those Christian Indians of whom he had been made superintendent, and of whose doings and sufferings he was the first chronicler, sacrificing, as many a New Englander has done since, popularity and preferment to the imperative demands of his social conscience.

With Indians, but in quite another spirit, deal also those other New Englanders, Wheeler and Hubbard. The latter was a clergyman, which is somewhat significant, as on the whole, although he does appear occasionally in his clerical capacity, he stands rather for lay activities, having been a paid historiographer, and noted among his admiring fellow-colonists as an "elegant writer." His popular account of the Indian Wars displays little of the charitable spirit of Gookin; it betrays the Puritan, but hardly the clergyman. It might easily have been the work of such a

layman as Johnson, but hardly the work of a clerical contemporary of that New England worthy.

Mary Rowlandson's *Diary* stands quite apart among these historical writings, as a poignant story of personal suffering, told with a detailed simplicity that makes it a real work of primitive, unconscious, and, it must be confessed, uncharming art. The two other New England Diarists embraced in this volume of extracts, Judge Sewall and Mrs. Knight, are of quite different character, both from Mrs. Rowlandson and from one another. The former's voluminous notations appear to have been dictated in part by the not uncommon, though seldom justified, assumption that as nothing human was foreign to his sympathies, so nothing that interested him could fail to interest others. In part it was no doubt a desire to preserve, for his own use, a record of daily happenings and thoughts. In part it appears to have been a sort of confessional to which he confided the records of his moral auto-stethoscope. Perhaps no other production in the whole range of New England's colonial literature contains more of real value or more of curious interest than this work, wholly lacking as it is, for the main, in continuity, proportion, or constructive unity of any kind.

Last of New Englanders, and latest in time of the writers included in this volume, is Sarah Kemble Knight, whose story of her venturesome journey from Boston to New York in the year 1704 has many of those qualities of literary excellence that Sewall's *Diary* conspicuously lacks, and makes us understand her contemporary reputation as a teacher of composition. She is sprightly, graphic, and tells us more

than we should otherwise know or guess of the customs of colonial life outside of the pulpit, the assembly hall, and the domestic fireside. She must have had some power of imparting the genial liveliness of her style, for she had the honor of training in the rudiments of English that past master among eighteenth century writers, Benjamin Franklin.

Turning now to the South we find that the disparity between the literary output here and in New England is hardly less than in the former volume, and, indeed, if the total bulk of the literature is regarded, the difference is even greater than our extracts indicate. Yet, in some respects the smaller output is the more significant. What is most typical in the literature of the eighteenth century, what brings American literature and thought in closest touch with the world movement of that period, is less the writing that has its roots in New England culture than that which derives itself from the life of the Middle and Southern colonies. Franklin here is typical, and Franklin, though a New Englander by birth and early education, has in him more of Penn and Alsop, Denton and Beverly, than he has of Hooker or Wigglesworth, or even of Sewall or Gookin. The literature of the Middle Colonies is less serious, less intense, less stimulating than that of New England. It has in it far less of learning, but it is in more sympathetic touch with the amenities of life. The conventions of the ministerial pulpit are no longer felt. There is a lighter touch natural to men whose ideals are secular rather than religious; and just over the border line of this second volume we shall meet in Col. Wm. Byrd of Virginia a writer and a personage who faintly suggests

Voltaire. It is from this point of view that we regret that space did not permit quotations from Gabriel Thomas's sprightly account of West New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but the latter colony got more perhaps of its impress from the character if not from the writing of Penn. It is indeed around Philadelphia that for the next half century interest centres in the literary evolution of America, not, of course, for the bulk of its performance, but for its typical character and the witness that it bears to a more balanced and in a sense a wider culture — the culture of toleration and secularism.

EDWARD JOHNSON.

CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON, author of the rambling but sturdy and characteristically Puritan "Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England," was born at Herne Hill, Kent, England, in 1599, and died at Woburn, Massachusetts, April 23, 1672. It is thought that he came to New England with Winthrop, in 1630, and certain that he took an active part in organizing the church and the town of Woburn, in 1642. He held public office almost continuously till his death, was town representative, recorder, speaker, colonial commissioner, and something of a soldier. All that can be learned of him is industriously gathered in the late Wm. F. Poole's introduction to his valuable reprint of the "Wonder-Working Providence" (1867). Johnson seems to have been a typical Puritan layman, bold, resourceful, and stern, with a sternness that came from the abiding thought of the immediate presence of a somewhat anthropomorphic God. His historical treatise, which carries the story of Massachusetts through the year 1651, three years before its publication in London, was written to defend the colony against unjust criticisms, and was based on first-hand information. Unfortunately, the author was very uncritical, and while we cannot but admire his strenuously eulogistic tone when he writes of the

great Puritan leaders and their work, we are obliged to smile at the extravagant crudity of his style, upon which he evidently expended much labor. His attempts at verse are peculiarly distressing. But when all is said, he is very interesting, and much is to be pardoned to so sturdy a patriot.

OF THE FIRST PREPARATION OF THE MERCHANT
ADVENTURERS IN THE MASSACHUSETTS.

[FROM THE "WONDER-WORKING PROVIDENCE," LON-
DON, 1654. CHAP. IX.]

. . . AT the place of their abode they began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made trial of the sordid spirits of the neighboring *Indians*, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their own; those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novel-ties, found a readier way to make an end of their masters' provisions, than they could find means to get more. They that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong beer and full cups ran as small as water in a large land, but little corn, and the poor *Indians* so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their own food with acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the ditch between *England* and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staff, yet some delighting their eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their

fancies with new discoveries at the Spring's approach, they made shift to rub out the Winter's cold by the fire-side, having fuel enough growing at their doors, turning down many a drop of the bottle, and burning tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing between one while and another, of the great progress they would make after the Summer's-sun had changed the earths white furr'd gown into a green mantel.

OF THE CHARGES EXPENDED BY THIS POOR PEOPLE,
TO ENJOY CHRIST IN HIS PURITY OF HIS ORDINANCES.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XIII.]

AND now they enter the ships, should they have cast up what it would have cost to people *New England* before hand, the most strongest of faith among them would certainly have staggered much, and very hardly have set sail. But behold and wonder at the admirable Acts of Christ, here it is cast up to thy hand, the passage of the persons that peopled New England cost ninety-five thousand pounds, the swine, goats, sheep, neat and horse, cost to transport twelve thousand pounds besides the price they cost, getting food for all persons for the time till they brought the woods to tillage amounted unto forty-five thousand pounds; nails, glass and other iron-work for their meeting houses, and other dwelling houses, before they could raise any means in the country to purchase them, eighteen thousand pounds. Arms, powder, bullet and match, together

with their great artillery, twenty-two thousand pounds : the whole sum amounts unto one hundred ninety two thousand pound, beside that which the Adventurers laid out in England, which was a small pittance compared with this, and indeed most of those that cast into this Bank were the chief Adventurers. Neither let any man think the sum above expended did defray the whole charge of this Army, which amounts to above as much more, only this sum lies still in bank, and the other they have had the income again. This therefore is chiefly presented to satisfy such as think *New England men* have been bad husbands in managing their estates ; assuredly here it lies in bank, put out to the greatest advantage that ever any hath been for many hundred of years before, and verily although in casting it up some hundred may be miscounted (for the Author would not willingly exceed in any respect) but to be sure Christ stands by and beholds every mite that (in the obedience of faith) is cast into this Treasury : but what do we answering men ? the money is all Christ's, and certainly he will take it well that [his] have so disposed of it to his advantage ; by this means he hath had a great income in *England* of late, Prayers, Tears and Praise and some Reformation ; *Scotland* and *Ireland* have met with much profit of this Bank, *Virginia*, *Bermudas* and *Barbados* have had a taste, and *France* may suddenly meet with the like. Therefore repent you not, you that have cast in your coin, but tremble all you that with a penurious hand have not only cast in, such as are taking out to hoard it up in your napkins ; remember *Ananias* and *Saphirah*, how darest thou do it in these days, when

the Lord hath need of it? Gentle Reader, make use of this memorable Providence of Christ for his *New England Churches*, where had this poor people this great sum of money? the mighty Princes of the Earth never opened their coffers for them, and the generality of these men were mean and poor in the things of this life, but sure it is, the work is done, let God have the glory, who hath now given them food to the full, and some to spare for other Churches.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XIV.]

. . . THE number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time [*to 1643*] as is supposed is 298 [*query 198 as stated in XVI*]. Men women and children passing over this wide ocean as near as at present can be gathered is also supposed to be 21,200 or thereabout.

OF THE FOURTH CHURCH OF CHRIST GATHERED AT
BOSTON, 1631.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XX.]

AFTER some little space of time the Church of Christ at Charles Town having their Sabbath assemblies oftenest on the south side of the river, agreed to leave the people on that side to themselves, and to provide another Pastor for Charles Town, which according they did. So that the fourth Church of

Christ issued out of Charles Town, and was seated at Boston being the Center Town and Metropolis of this Wilderness work (but you must not imagine it to be a Metropolitan Church) environed it is with the brinish floods, saving one small isthmus, which gives free access to the neighbor towns; by land on the south side, on the north west, and north east, two constant ferries are kept for daily traffic thereunto; the form of this town is like a heart, naturally situated for fortifications, having two hills on the frontice part thereof next the sea, the one well fortified on the superficies thereof, with store of great artillery well mounted, the other hath a very strong battery built of whole timber, and filled with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreme point thereof; betwixt these two strong arms lies a large cave or bay, on which the chiefest part of this town is built, over-topped with a third hill; all three like over-topping towers keep a constant watch to fore-see the approach of foreign dangers, being furnished with a beacon and loud babbling guns to give notice by the redoubled echo to all their sister-towns. The chief edifice of this citylike town is crowded on the sea-banks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautiful and large, some fairly set forth with brick, tile, stone and slate, and orderly placed with comely streets, whose continual enlargement presages some sumptuous city. . . . But now behold the admirable acts of Christ. At this his peoples, landing the hideous thickets in this place were such that wolves and bears nursed up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of girls and boys, sporting up and

down, with a continued concourse of people. Good store of shipping is here yearly built and some very fair ones. Both tar and masts the country affords from its own soil, also store of victual both for their own and foreigner's ships who resort hither for that end. The town is the very mart of the land, French Portugals and Dutch come hither for traffic.

OF THE GREAT CHEERFULNESS OF THEIR SOLDIERS
IN CHRIST IN AND UNDER THE PENURIES OF A
WILDERNESS.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XXIV.]

THIS year, 1631, John Winthrop, Esq., was chosen Governor, pickt out for the work by the provident hand of the Most High, and enabled with gifts accordingly; then all the folk of Christ, who have seen his face and been partaker of the same, remember him in this following Meeter.

* * * * *

Why leavest thou, John, thy station, in Suffolk, thy own soil?

Christ will have thee a pillar be, for 's people thou must toil.
He chang'd thy heart, then take his part 'gainst prelates proud
invading

His Kingly throne, set up alone, in wilderness there shading
His little flocks from Prelates' knocks. Twice ten years rul'd
thou hast,

With civil sword at Christ's word, and eleven times been trast,
By name and note, with people's vote, their Governor to be;

Thy means hast spent, 'twas therefore lent, to raise this work
by thee.

Well arm'd and strong with sword among Christ's armies marcheth
he,

Doth valiant praise, and weak one raise, with kind benignity.

To lead the van, 'gainst Babylon, doth worthy Winthrop call ;
 Thy Progeny shall battle try, when Prelacy shall fall.
 With fluent tongue thy pen doth run, in learned Latin phrase,
 To Swedes, French, Dutch, thy Neighbors, which thy lady
 rhetoric praise.
 Thy bounty feeds Christ's servants' needs, in wilderness of
 wants ;
 To Indians thou Christ's Gospel now 'mongst heathen people
 plants.
 Yet thou poor dust, now dead and must to rottenness be
 brought,
 Till Christ restore thee glorious, more than can of dust be
 thought.

* * * * * * *

Those honored persons who were now in place of Government, having the propagation of the Churches of Christ in their eye, labored by all means to make room for inhabitants, knowing well that where the dead carcass is, thither will the eagles resort. But herein they were much opposed by certain persons, whose greedy desire for land much hindered the work for a time, as indeed all such persons do at this very day — and let such take notice how these were cured of this distemper. Some were taken away by death, and then to be sure they had land enough, others fearing poverty and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people.

But the valiant of the Lord waited with patience, and in the miss of beer supplied themselves with water, even the most honored, as well as others, contentedly rejoicing in a cup of cold water, blessing the Lord that had given them the taste of that living

water, and that they had not the water that slacks the thirst of their natural bodies, given them by measure, but might drink to the full ; as also in the absence of bread they feasted themselves with fish. The women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussels, and clambanks, which are a fish as big as horse-mussels, where they daily gathered their families' food with much heavenly discourse of the provisions Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, " My husband hath travelled as far as Plymouth (which is near forty miles), and hath with great toil brought a little corn home with him, and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide." Quoth the other, " Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home a-baking, and many of our godly neighbors have quite spent all, and we owe one loaf of that little we have." Then spake a third, " My husband hath ventured himself among the Indians for corn, and can get none, as also our honored Governor hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest, and yet methinks our children are as cheerful, fat, and lusty with feeding upon those mussels, clambanks and other fish, as they were in England with their fill of bread, which makes me cheerful in the Lord's providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our pastor to trust the Lord with providing for us ; whose is the earth and the fulness thereof."

And as they were encouraging one another in Christ's careful providing for them, they lift up their eyes and saw two ships coming in, and presently this news came to their ears, that they were

come from Jacland full of victuals. Now their poor hearts were not so much refreshed in regard of the food they saw they were like to have, as their souls rejoiced in that Christ would now manifest himself to be the commissary-general of this his Army, and that he should honor them so far as to be poor sutlers for his camp. They soon up with their mussels, and hie them home to stay their hungry stomachs. After this manner did Christ many times graciously provide for this his people, even at the last cast.

OF THE GRACIOUS GOODNESS OF GOD IN HEARING
HIS PEOPLE'S PRAYERS IN TIME OF NEED, AND
OF THE SHIPLOADS OF GOODS THE LORD SENT
THEM IN.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XXVII.]

HERE again the admirable Providence of the Lord is to be noted, that whereas the country is naturally subject to drought; even to the withering of their summer's fruits, the Lord was pleased, during these years of scarcity, to bless that small quantity of land they planted with seasonable showers, and that many times to the great admiration of the Heathen. For thus it befell. The extreme parching heat of the sun (by reason of a more constant clearness of the air than usually is in England) began to scorch the herbs and fruits, which was the chiefest means of their livelihood. They beholding the Hand of the Lord stretched out against them, like tender-hearted children, they fell down on their knees, begging mercy

of the Lord for their Saviour's sake, urging this as a chief argument, that the malignant adversary would rejoice in their destruction, and blaspheme the pure Ordinances of Christ, trampling down his Kingly Commands with their own inventions; and in uttering these words, their eyes dropped down many tears, their affections prevailing so strong, that they could not refrain in the Church Assembly. Here admire and be strong in the Grace of Christ, all you that hopefully belong unto him, for as they poured out water before the Lord, so at that very instant, the Lord showered down water on their gardens and fields, which with great industry they had planted, and now had not the Lord caused it to rain speedily, their hope of food had been lost; but at this these poor worms were so exceedingly taken, that the Lord should show himself so near unto their prayers, that as the drops from Heaven fell thicker and faster, so the tears from their eyes by reason of the sudden mixture of joy and sorrow. And verily they were exceedingly stirred in their affections, being unable to resolve themselves which mercy was greatest, to have a humble begging heart given them of God, or to have their request so suddenly answered.

The Indians hearing hereof, and seeing the sweet rain that fell, were much taken with Englishmen's God, but the Lord seeing his poor people's hearts were too narrow to beg, his bounties exceeds toward them at this time, as indeed he ever hitherto hath done for this Wilderness People, not only giving the full of their requests, but beyond all their thoughts, as witness his great work in England of late, in which the prayers of God's people in New England have

had a great stroke. These people now rising from their knees to receive the rich mercies of Christ, in the refreshed fruits of the earth; behold the sea also bringing in whole ship-loads of mercies, more being filled with fresh forces for furthering this wonderful work of Christ. And indeed this year came in many precious ones, whom Christ in his grace hath made much use of in these his Churches and Commonwealth, insomuch that these people were even almost over-balanced with the great income of their present possessed mercies. Yet they address themselves to the sea-shore, where they courteously welcome the famous servant of Christ, grave, godly and judicious Hooker, and the honored servant of Christ, Mr. John Haynes, as also the Reverend and much desired Mr. John Cotton, and the rhetorical Mr. Stone, with divers others of the sincere servants of Christ, coming with their young, and with their old, and with their whole substance, to do him service in this desert wilderness. Thus this poor people having now tasted liberally of the salvation of the Lord every way, they deem it high time to take up the cup of thankfulness, and pay their vows to the most high God, by whom they were holpen to this purpose of heart, and accordingly set apart the 16th day of October (which they call the eighth month, not out of any peevish humor of singularity, as some are ready to censure them with, but of purpose to prevent the heathenish and Popish observation of days, months and years, that they may be forgotten among the people of the Lord). This day was solemnly kept by all the seven Churches, rejoicing in the Lord, and rendering thanks for all their benefits.

OF THE LABORIOUS WORK CHRIST'S PEOPLE HAVE
IN PLANTING THIS WILDERNESS, SET FORTH IN
THE BUILDING THE TOWN OF CONCORD, BEING
THE FIRST INLAND TOWN.

[FROM THE SAME. CHAP. XXXVI.]

. . . AFTER they had thus found out a place of
abode they burrow themselves in the earth for their
first shelter, under some hillside, casting the earth
aloft upon timber ; they make a smoky fire against
the earth at the highest side and thus these poor ser-
vants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their
wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers
from their lodgings, but the long rains penetrate
through to their great disturbance in the night season.
Yet in those poor wigwams they sing psalms, pray
and praise their God till they can provide them
houses, which ordinarily was not wont to be with
many till the earth by the Lord's blessing brought
forth bread to feed them, their wives and little ones,
which with sore labor they attained, every one that
can lift a hoe to strike it into the earth standing stoutly
to their labors, and tear up the roots and bushes,
which the first year bears them a very thin crop,
till the sward of the earth be rotten and therefore
they have been forced to cut their bread very thin
for a long season. But the Lord is pleased to pro-
vide for them great store of fish in the spring time,
and especially alewives, about the bigness of a her-
ring. Many thousands of these they used to put
under their Indian corn which they plant in hills

five foot asunder, and assuredly when the Lord created this corn he had a special eye to provide his people's wants with it, for ordinarily five or six grains doth produce six hundred. . . .

In this wilderness work men of estates speed no better than others, and some much worse for want of being inured to such hard labor having laid out their estates on cattle at five and twenty pound a cow, when they come to winter them with inland hay and feed upon such wild fodder as was never cut before they could not hold out the winter, but ordinarily the first or second year after their coming up to a new plantation many of their cattle died, especially if they wanted salt marshes; and also those who supposed they could feed upon swine's flesh were cut short, the wolves commonly feasting themselves before them. . . . As for those who laid out their estates in sheep they speed worse than any at the beginning, although some have sped the best of any now, for until the land be often fed with other cattle sheep cannot live, and therefore they never thrive till these latter days. Horse had then no better success, which made many an honest gentleman travel afoot for a long time. . . . As also the want of English grain, wheat, barley and rye, proved a sore affliction to some stomachs. . . . Instead of apples and pears they had pumpkins and squashes of divers kinds. Their lonesome condition was very grievous to some, which was much agitated by continual fear of the Indians approach, whose cruelties were much spoken of. . . . Thus this poor people populate this howling desert, marching manfully on, the Lord assisting, through the greatest difficulties and

sorest labors that ever any with such weak means have done.

OF THE FIRST PROMOTION OF LEARNING IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCES THAT THE LORD WAS PLEASED TO SEND FOR FURTHERING OF THE SAME.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II. CHAP. XIX.]

TOWARD the latter end of this summer came over the learned, reverend, and judicious Mr. Henry Dunster, before whose coming the Lord was pleased to provide a patron for erecting a college, as you have formerly heard, his provident hand being now no less powerful in pointing out with his unerring finger a president abundantly fitted, this his servant, and sent him over for to manage the work. And as in all the other passages of this history the Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour hath appeared, so more especially in this work, the fountains of learning being in a great measure stopped in our native country at this time, so that the sweet waters of Shilo's streams must ordinarily pass into the churches through the stinking channel of prelatical pride, beside all the filth that the fountains themselves were daily encumbered withal, insomuch that the Lord turned aside often from them, and refused the breathings of his blessed Spirit among them, which caused Satan (in these latter days of his transformation into an angel of light) to make it a means to persuade people from the use of learning altogether, that so in the next generation they might be destitute of such helps as the Lord hath

been pleased hitherto to make use of, as chief means for the conversion of his people and building them up in the holy faith, as also for breaking down the Kingdom of Antichrist. And verily had not the Lord been pleased to furnish New England with means for the attainment of learning, the work would have been carried on very heavily, and the hearts of godly parents would have vanished away with heaviness for their poor children, whom they must have left in a desolate wilderness, destitute of the means of grace.

It being a work (in the apprehension of all whose capacity could reach to the great sums of money the edifice of a mean college would cost) past the reach of a poor pilgrim people, who had expended the greatest part of their estates on a long voyage, traveling into foreign countries being unprofitable to any that have undertaken it, although it were but with their necessary attendance, whereas this people were forced to travel with wives, children, and servants; besides they considered the treble charge of building in this new populated desert, in regard of all kind of workmanship, knowing likewise, that young students could make up a poor progress in learning, by looking on the bare walls of their chambers, and that Diogenes would have the better of them by far, in making use of a tun to lodge in; not being ignorant also, that many people in this age are out of conceit with learning, and that although they were not among a people who counted ignorance the mother of devotion, yet were the greater part of the people wholly devoted to the plough (but to speak uprightly, hunger is sharp, and the head will retain little learning, if the heart be not refreshed in some competent measure

with food, although the gross vapors of a glutted stomach are the bane of a bright understanding, and brings barrenness to the brain). But how to have both go on together, as yet they know not. Amidst all these difficulties, it was thought meet learning should plead for itself, and (as many other men of good rank and quality in this barren desert) plot out a way to live. Hereupon all those who had tasted the sweet wine of Wisdom's drawing, and fed on the dainties of knowledge, began to set their wits a work, and verily as the whole progress of this work had a farther dependency than on the present-eyed means, so at this time chiefly the end being firmly fixed on a sure foundation, namely, the glory of God and good of all his elect people the world throughout, in vindicating the truths of Christ and promoting his glorious Kingdom, who is now taking the heathen for his inheritance and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession, means they know there are, many thousand uneyed of mortal man, which every day's Providence brings forth.

Upon these resolutions, to work they go, and with thankful acknowledgment readily take up all lawful means as they come to hand. For place they fix their eye upon New-Town, which to tell their posterity whence they came, is now named Cambridge. And withal to make the whole world understand that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctify the other and make the whole lump holy, and that learning being set upon its right object might not contend for error instead of truth, they chose this place, being then under the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepard, of

whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministry hath saved many a hundred soul. The situation of this College is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling-green than a wilderness, near a fair navigable river, environed with many neighboring towns of note, being so near, that their houses join with her suburbs. The building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others' apprehensions for a college, it is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbor houses. It hath the conveniences of a fair hall, comfortable studies, and a good library, given by the liberal hand of some magistrates and ministers, with others. The chief gift towards the founding of this college was by Mr. John Harvard, a reverend minister; the country, being very weak in their public treasury, expended about £500 towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a ferry passage between Boston and Charles-Town, the which amounts to about £40 or £50 per annum. The commissioners of the four united colonies also taking into consideration of what common concernment this work would be, not only to the whole plantations in general, but also to all our English Nation, they endeavored to stir up all the people in the several colonies to make a yearly contribution toward it, which by some is observed, but by the most very much neglected. The government hath endeavored to grant them all the privileges fit for a college, and accordingly the Governor and magistrates, together with the President of the College for the time being, have a continual care of ordering all matters for the good of the whole.

This college hath brought forth and nurst up very hopeful plants, to the supplying some churches here, as the gracious and godly Mr. Wilson, son to the grave and zealous servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson; this young man is pastor to the Church of Christ at Dorchester; as also Mr. Buckley, son to the reverend Mr. Buckley, of Concord; as also a second son of his, whom our native country hath now at present help in the ministry, and the other is over a people of Christ in one of these Colonies, and if I mistake not, England hath I hope not only this young man of New England nurturing up in learning, but many more, as Mr. Sam. and Nathaniel Mathers, Mr. Wells, Mr. Downing, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Allin, Mr. Brewster, Mr. William Ames, Mr. Jones. Another of the first-fruits of this college is employed in these western parts in Mevis, one of the Summer Islands; besides these named, some help hath been had from hence in the study of physic, as also the godly Mr. Sam. Danforth, who hath not only studied divinity, but also astronomy; he put forth many almanacs, and is now called to the office of a teaching elder in the Church of Christ at Roxbury, who was one of the fellows of this College. The number of students is much increased of late, so that the present year, 1651, on the twelfth of the sixth month, ten of them took the degree of Bachelors of Art, among whom the Sea-born son of Mr. John Cotton was one. . . .

JOHN ELIOT.

JOHN ELIOT, who in his own lifetime earned the name of "apostle to the Indians," was born in Hertfordshire, in 1604, and died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1690. His father was a yeoman landholder, and the son was educated, like so many of his fellow Puritans, at Cambridge, where he graduated in 1622. For nine years he taught in Thomas Hooker's school at Little Baddow. He had taken orders in the Church of England before he joined the church at Boston in 1631, where he preached in the pastor's absence, and from which, the next year, he accepted a call to Roxbury, where he remained till his death. He took an active part in the political life of the colony, criticizing the government so freely that his *Christian Commonwealth* was condemned and suppressed by order of the General Court, but his fame rests on his labors with the Indians, for whom he published what he thought was a translation of the Bible. He travelled widely on mission journeys, and though the style in which he tells of *The Daybreaking if not the Sunrising of the Gospel with the Indians of New England* may be quite destitute of charm, the sincerity and sweetness of the man that shine through it show him to have been of a very winning and lovable nature. The luminosity of the title is characteristic of the man, and

appears more than once in the titles of his tracts. Eliot used all the sunlight and much of the torchlight of his long life in truly philanthropic service. We can well believe what he says of his Indian congregation, — “None of them slept sermon or derided God’s messenger.” He has his reward in his un begrudged title — the Apostle.

THE DAYBREAKING IF NOT THE SUN- RISING OF THE GOSPEL WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND [1647].

[THE FIRST PREACHING.]

UPON October 28, 1646, four of us having sought God went unto the Indians inhabiting within our bounds. . . . They being all there assembled we began in prayer which now was in English, being not so far acquainted with the Indian language as to express our hearts therein before God or them, but we hope it will be done ere long, the Indians desiring it that they also might know how to pray. . . . When prayer was ended it was a gloriously affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorn outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered, professing they understood all that was then taught them in their own tongue ; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the alabaster box broken up in their dark and gloomy habitation of filthiness and unclean spirits. . . . Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters of salvation to them, the next thing we

intended was discourse with them by propounding certain questions to see what they would say to them, that so we might screw by variety of means something or other of God into them, but before we did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken and whether all of them in the wigwam could understand or only some few, and they answered to this question, with multitude of voices, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them. . . .

Thus after three hours' time thus spent with them, we asked them if they were not weary and they answered, No, but we resolved to leave them with an appetite. The chief of them, seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when we would come again, so we appointed the time, and having given the children some apples and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a town together, which we did much like of, promising to speak for them to the General Court that they might possess all the compass of that hill upon which their wigwams stood, and so we departed with many welcomes from them.

* * * * *
. . . Methinks now that it is with the Indians, as it was with our New English ground when we first came over, there was scarce any man that would believe that English grain would grow or that the plow could do any good in this woody and rocky soil. . . . so we have thought of our Indian people and therefore have been discouraged to put plow to such dry and rocky ground, but God having begun

thus with some few, it may be they are better soil for the Gospel than we can think. I confess I think no great good will be done till they be more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few to awaken others by degrees? Nor do I expect any great good will be wrought by the English (leaving secrets to God) although the English surely begin and lay the first stones of Christ's kingdom and temple amongst them, because God is wont ordinarily to convert nations and people by some of their own countrymen who are nearest to them and can best speak and most of all pity their brethren and countrymen. But yet if the least beginnings be made by the conversion of two or three it is worth all our time and travails and cause of much thankfulness for such seeds, although no great harvest should immediately appear.

[AID ASKED FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS.]

I DID never think to open my mouth to any to desire those in England to further any good work here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this business that it were well if you did lay before those who are prudent and able these considerations.

1. That it is pretty heavy and chargeable to educate and train those children that are already offered us, in schooling, clothing, diet and attendance which they must have.

2. That in all probability many Indians in other places, especially under our jurisdiction will be provoked by this example . . . also to send their children to us. . . .

3. That if any shall do anything to encourage this work that it may be given to the college for such an end and use that so from the college may arise the yearly revenue for their yearly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular man's hands for fear of cozenage or misplacing or careless keeping and improving ; but at the college it's under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the country who have been and will be exactly careful of the right and comely disposing of such things ; and therefore if anything be given let it be put in such hands as may immediately direct it to the president of the college who you know will soon acquaint the rest with it ; and for this end if any in England have given anything for this end I would have them speak to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it be withheld I think 't is no less than sacrilege : but if God moves no hearts to such work, I doubt not then but that more weak means shall have the honor of it in the day of Christ.

THE CLEAR SUNSHINE OF THE GOSPEL
BREAKING FORTH UPON THE INDIANS [1648].

[A LETTER TO REV. THOMAS SHEPARD.]

IN my exercise among them (as you know) we attend four things, besides prayer unto God for his presence and blessing upon all we do.

First, I catechise the children and youth ; wherein some are very ready and expert ; they can readily say

all the Commandments, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, etc., wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition thereof to the children, and are able to teach it to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly, I preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainness and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly, if there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure ; unto which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainness, and without shiftings and excuses. I will instance in two or three particulars ; this was one case, a man named Wampoowas, being in a passion upon some light occasion, did beat his wife, which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times it was very usual) and they had made a law against it, and set a fine upon it ; whereupon he was publicly brought forth before the assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present. The man wholly condemned himself without any excuse : and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him, he did not in the least measure blame her but himself, and when the quality of the sin was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against God's Commandment, and that passion was a sin, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, etc., he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest endeavor to hide it ; and such was the modest, penitent,

and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a barbarian, and all did forgive him, only this remained, that they executed their law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this, Cutshamaquin the Sachem having a son of about fourteen or fifteen years old, he had been drunk, and had behaved himself disobediently and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sin they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe when I catechised him, when he should say the fifth Commandment, he did not freely say, "Honor thy father," but wholly left out "mother," and so he did the lecture day before, but when this sin of his was produced, he was called forth before the Assembly, and he confessed that what was said against him was true, but he fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that he would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink sack, and I know not what else : which behavior we greatly disliked, showed him the evil of it, and Mr. Wilson being present labored much with him, for he understood the English, but all in vain, his heart was hard and hopeless for that time. Therefore using due loving persuasions, we did sharply admonish him of his sin, and required him to answer further the next lecture day, and so left him ; and so stout he was, that when his father offered to pay his fine of ten shillings for his drunkenness according to their law, he would not accept it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as

before. Then we turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling-block out of his son's way, by confessing his own sins whereby he had given occasion of hardness of heart to his son ; which thing was not sudden to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and he was very willing to hearken to that counsel, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy ; and accordingly he did, he confessed his main and principal evils of his own accord : and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew he had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise ; and put it after this manner, Are you now sorry for your drunkenness, filthiness, false dealing, lying, etc., which sins you committed before you knew God? unto all which cases he expressed himself sorrowful, and condemned himself for them : which example of the Sachem was profitable for all the Indians. And when he had thus confessed his sins, we turned again to his son and labored with him, requiring him to confess his sin, and entreat God to forgive him for Christ his sake, and to confess his offence against his father and mother, and entreat them to forgive him, but he still refused ; and now the other Indians spake unto him soberly and affectionately, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some several times. Mr. Wilson again did much labor with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all, and entreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping. He did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others ; and many English being present, they

fell a-weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side ; and then we went to prayer, in all which time Cutshamaquin wept, insomuch that when we had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his tears.

Another case of admonition was this, a hopeful young man who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised ; which when I heard I reproved him, and he humbled himself, with confession of his sin, and tears. And the next lecture day I called him forth before the Assembly, where he did confess his sin with many tears.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not be too tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. ' It was George that wicked Indian, who, as you know, at our first beginnings sought to cast aspersions upon religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, " Who made sack ? " and this fellow having killed a young cow at your town, and sold it at the college instead of moose, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. Dunster was loath he should be directly charged with it when we called him forth, but that we should rather inquire. But when he was called before the Assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, only he added one thing which we think was an excuse ; thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly, the last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions, and very

many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was Wabbakoxet's question, who is reputed an old Powwaw; it was to this purpose, seeing the English had been twenty-seven years (some of them) in this land, why did we never teach them to know God till now? "Had you done it sooner," said he, "we might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin," etc. To whom we answered, that we do repent that we did not long ago, as now we do, yet withal we told them, that they were never willing to hear till now, and that seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the pains we can now to teach them.

Another question was, that of Cutshamaquin, to this purpose, "Before I knew God," said he, "I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinful than ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to me; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as it was before, and therefore I sometimes wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not?" This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coined feigned thing, but a real matter gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children, Whither

their little children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned?

Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them original sin, and the damned state of all men. And also, and especially it gave occasion to teach them the Covenant of God, which he hath made with all his people, and with their children, so that when God chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, he chooses all their children to be so also; which doctrine was exceeding grateful unto them.

FROM A LATE AND FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF THE PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

DECLARING THEIR CONSTANT LOVE AND ZEAL TO THE TRUTH WITH A READINESS TO GIVE ACCOUNT OF THEIR FAITH AND HOPE AS OF THEIR DESIRES IN CHURCH COMMUNION TO BE PARTAKERS OF THE ORDINANCES OF CHRIST, BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE INDIANS ABOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE IN RELIGION BY THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCHES. RELATED BY MR. JOHN ELIOT, PUBLISHED BY THE CORPORATION, ESTABLISHED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL THERE. [LONDON, 1655.]

[SCANDAL AMONG THE CONVERTED.]

THERE fell out a very great discouragement a little before the time, which might have been a scandal

unto them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so ; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and prayer, and so turned it another way. Thus it was : Three of the unsound sort of such as are among them that pray unto God, who are hemmed in by relations, and other means, to do that which their hearts love not, and whose vices Satan improveth to scandalize and reproach the better sort withal ; while many, and some good people are too ready to say they are all alike. I say three of them had gotten several quarts of strong water (which sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gain, are too ready to sell unto them, to the offence and grief of the better sort of Indians, and of the godly English too), and with these liquors, did not only make themselves drunk, but got a child of eleven years of age, the son of Toteswamp, whom his father had sent for a little corn and fish to that place near Watertowne, where they were. Unto this child they first gave two spoonfuls of strongwater, which was more than his head could bear ; and another of them put a bottle, or such like vessel to his mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very drunk ; and then one of them domineered, and said, “ Now we will see whether your father will punish us for drunkenness (for he is a ruler among them) seeing you are drunk with us for company ; ” and in this case lay the child abroad all night. They also fought, and had been several times punished formerly for drunkenness.

When Toteswamp heard of this, it was a great shame and breaking of heart unto him, and he knew not what to do. The rest of the rulers with him considered of the matter, they found a complication of many sins together.

1. The sin of drunkenness, and that after many former punishments for the same.
2. A wilful making of the child drunk, and exposing him to danger also.
3. A degree of reproaching the rulers.
4. Fighting.

Word was brought to me of it, a little before I took horse to go to Natick to keep the Sabbath with them, being about ten days before the appointed meeting. The tidings sunk my spirit extremely, I did judge it to be the greatest frown of God that ever I met withal in the work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure, I began to doubt about our intended work : I knew not what to do, the blackness of the sins, and the persons reflected on, made my very heart fail me. For one of the offenders (though least in the offence) was he that hath been my interpreter, whom I have used in translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures ; and in that respect I saw much of Satan's venom, and in God I saw displeasure. For this and some other acts of apostasy at this time, I had thoughts of casting him off from that work, yet now the Lord hath found a way to humble him. But his apostasy at this time was a great trial, and I did lay him by for that day of our examination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan aimed at me in this their miscarrying ; and Toteswamp is a principal man in the work, as you shall have occasion to see anon, God willing.

By some occasion our ruling elder and I being together, I opened the case unto him, and the Lord guided him to speak some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did relieve my

spirit ; and so I committed the matter and issue unto the Lord, to do what pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet in the Lord. I went on my journey being the sixth day of the week ; when I came at Natick, the rulers had then a court about it. Soon after I came there, the rulers came to me with a question about this matter, they related the whole business unto me, with much trouble and grief.

Then Toteswamp spake to this purpose, “ I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God trieth me whether I love Christ or my child best. They say they will try me ; but I say God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth father, or mother, or wife, or child, better than me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must correct my child, if I should refuse to do that, I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham kill his son, Abraham loved God, and therefore he would have done it, had not God withheld him. God saith to me, only punish your child, and how can I love God, if I should refuse to do that ? ” These things he spake in more words, and much affection, and not with dry eyes. Nor could I refrain from tears to hear him. When it was said, The child was not so guilty of the sin, as those that made him drunk ; he said, that he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not sin, and in that he did not believe his councils that he had often given him, to take heed of evil company ; but he had believed Satan and sinners more than him, therefore he needed to be punished. After other such like discourse, the rulers left me, and went unto their business, which they were about before I came, which they did bring unto this conclusion and judgment, They judged the three

men to sit in the stocks a good space of time, and thence to be brought to the whipping-post, and have each of them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the stocks a little while, and the next day his father was to whip him in the school, before the children there ; all which judgment was executed. When they came to be whipped, the constable fetched them one after another to the tree (which they make use of instead of a post) where they all received their punishments : which done, the rulers spake thus, one of them said, “ The punishments for sin are the Commandments of God, and the work of God, and his end was, to do them good, and bring them to repentance.” And upon that ground he did in more words exhort them to repentance, and amendment of life. When he had done, another spake unto them to this purpose, “ You are taught in catechism, that the wages of sin are all miseries and calamities in this life, and also death and eternal damnation in hell. Now you feel some smart as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you to repentance, that so you may escape the rest.” And in more words he exhorted them to repentance. When he had done, another spake to this purpose, “ Hear all ye people ” (turning himself to the people who stood round about, I think not less than two hundred, small and great) “ this is the commandment of the Lord, that thus it should be done unto sinners ; and therefore let all take warning by this, that you commit not such sins, lest you incur these punishments.” And with more words he exhorted the people. Others of the rulers spake also, but some things spoken I understood not, and some things slipped from me. But these which I have related remained with me.

When I returned to Roxbury, I related these things to our elder, to whom I had before related the sin, and my grief: who was much affected to hear it, and magnified God. He said also, That their sin was but a transient act, which had no rule, and would vanish. But these judgments were an ordinance of God, and would remain, and do more good every way, than their sin could do hurt, telling me what cause I had to be thankful for such an issue. Which I therefore relate, because the Lord did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.

FROM "THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN,

OR AN ESSAY TO BRING THE INDIAN LANGUAGE INTO RULES, FOR THE HELP OF SUCH AS DESIRE TO LEARN THE SAME, FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THEM." [CAMBRIDGE, 1666.]

MUSICAL sounds they also have, and perfect harmony, but they differ from us in sound.

There be four several sorts of sounds or tones uttered by mankind.

1. Articulation in speech.
2. Laughter.
3. Lætation and joy: of which kind of sounds our music and song is made.
4. Ululation, howling, yelling, or mourning: and of that kind of sound is their music and song made.

In which kind of sound they also hallow and call, when they are most vociferous.

And that it is thus, it may be perceived by this, that their language is so full of (oo) and ô nasal.

They have harmony and tunes which they sing, but the matter is not in metre.

They are much pleased to have their language and words in metre and rhythm, as it now is in the singing Psalms in some poor measure, enough to begin and break the ice withal : These they sing in our musical tone.

So much for the sounds and characters.

Now follows the consideration of syllables and the Art of spelling.

The formation of syllables in their language, doth in nothing differ from the formation of syllables in the English, and other languages.

When I taught our Indians first to lay out a word into syllables, and then according to the sound of every syllable to make it up with the right letters, viz. if it were a simple sound, then one vocal made the syllable ; if it were such a sound as required some of the consonants to make it up, then the adding of the right consonants either before the vocal, or after it, or both. They quickly apprehended and understood this epitome of the art of spelling, and could soon learn to read.

The men, women, and up-grown youth do thus rationally learn to read : but the children learn by rote and custom, as other children do.

Such as desire to learn this language, must be attentive to pronounce right, especially to produce that syllable that is first to be produced ; then they must spell by art, and accustom their tongues to pronounce their syllables and words ; then learn to read

such books as are printed in their language. Legendo, scribendo, loquendo, are the three means to learn a language.

So much for the rule of making words.

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Touching the principal parts of speech, this may be said in general, That nouns are the names of things, and verbs are the names of actions; and therefore their proper attendants are answerable. Adnouns are the qualities of things, and adverbs are the qualities of actions.

And hence is that wise saying, *That a Christian must be adorned with as many Adverbs as Adjectives*: He must as well do good as be good. When a man's virtuous actions are well adorned with Adverbs, every one will conclude that the man is well adorned with virtuous Adjectives.

1. Of the Pronoun.

BECAUSE of the common and general use of the pronoun to be affixed unto both nouns, verbs, and other parts of speech, and that in the formation of them; therefore that is the first part of speech to be handled.

I shall give no other description of them but this, They are such words as do express all the persons, both singular and plural: as

Sing.	{	Neen, <i>I.</i>	}	Plu.	{	Neenawun or kenawun, <i>We.</i>	}
		Ken, <i>Tbou.</i>				Kenaau, <i>Ye.</i>	
		Noh or nagum, <i>He.</i>				Nahoh or Nagoh, <i>Tbey.</i>	

There be also other pronouns of frequent use :

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2. *Of a Noun.*

A **NOUN** is a part of speech which signifieth a thing ; or it is the name of a thing.

The variation of nouns is not by male and female, as in other learned languages, and in European nations they do.

Nor are they varied by cases, cadencies, and endings : herein they are more like to the Hebrew.

Yet there seemeth to be one cadency or case of the first declination of the form animate, which endeth in oh, uh, or ah ; viz. when an animate noun followeth a verb transitive whose object that he acteth upon is without himself. For example : Gen. 1. 16. the last word is *anogqsog*, stars. It is an erratum : it should be *anogqsob*, because it followeth the verb *ayim*, He made. Though it be an erratum in the press, it is the fitter in some respects for an example.

In nouns, consider { 1. Genera, or kinds of nouns.
2. The qualities or affections thereof.

The kinds of nouns are two ; according to which there be two declensions of nouns, for the variation of the number.

Numbers are two : singular and plural.

The first kind of nouns is, when the thing signified is a living creature.

The second kind is, when the thing signified is not a living creature.

Therefore I order them thus :

There be two forms or declensions of nouns : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Animate.} \\ \text{Inanimate.} \end{array} \right.$

The animate form or declension is, when the thing signified is a living creature : and such nouns do always make their plural in (*og*) ; as,

Wosketomp, *Man*. Wosketompaog (*a*) is but for *Euphony*.

Mittamwossis, *A Woman*. Mittamwossissog.

* * * * * * * *

The stars they put in this form :

Anogqs, *A Star*. Anogqsog.

* * * * * * * *

Some few exceptions I know.

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I have now finished what I shall do at present : and in a word or two to satisfy the prudent enquirer how I found out these new ways of Grammar, which no other learned language (so far as I know, useth ; I thus inform him : God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor souls, and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his Kingdom. Then presently I found out (by God's wise providence) a pregnant witted young man, who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation : Him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many texts of Scripture : Also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their grammar from

ours : When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still and look for miracles ; Up, and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus will do anything. *Nil tam deficile quod non* — I do believe and hope that the Gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the earth, and dark corners of the world by such a way, and such instruments as the Churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. Lord hasten those good days, and pour out that good Spirit upon thy people. Amen.

FROM “A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE
PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST
THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, IN
THE YEAR 1670.” [LONDON, 1671.]

[A LETTER TO THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.]

NATICK is our chief town, where most and chief of our rulers, and most of the church dwells ; here most of our chief courts are kept ; and the sacraments in the church are for the most part here administered : It is (by the Divine Providence) seated well near in the center of all our praying Indians, though westward the cords of Christ’s tents are more enlarged. Here we began civil government in the year 1650. And here usually are kept the General-Trainings, which seven years ago looked so big that we never

had one since till this year, and it was at this time but a small appearance. Here we have two teachers, John Speen and Anthony ; we have betwixt forty and fifty communicants at the Lord's Table, when they all appear, but now, some are dead, and some decipied with age ; and one under censure, yet making towards a recovery ; one died here the last winter of the stone, a temperate, sober, godly man, the first Indian that ever was known to have that disease ; but now another hath the same disease : Sundry more are proposed, and in way of preparation to join unto the Church.

Ponkipog, or Pakeunit, is our second town, where the Sachems of the Blood (as they term their chief royal-line) had their residence and rights, which are mostly alienated to the English towns : The last chief man, of that line, was last year slain by the Mauquzogs, against whom he rashly (without due attendants and assistance, and against counsel) went ; yet all, yea, his enemies say, he died valiantly ; they were more afraid to kill him, than he was to die ; yet being deserted by all (some knowingly say through treason) he stood long, and at last fell alone : Had he had but ten men, yea five in good order with him, he would have driven all his enemies before him. His brother was resident with us in this town, but he is fallen into sin, and from praying to God. Our chief ruler is Ahauton, an old stedfast and trusty friend to the English, and loveth his country. He is more loved than feared ; the reins of his bridle are too long. Wakan is sometimes necessarily called to keep courts here, to add life and zeal in the punishment of sinners. Their late teacher, William,

is deceased ; he was a man of eminent parts, all the English acknowledge him, and he was known to many : he was of a ready wit, sound judgment, and affable ; he is gone unto the Lord ; and William, the son of Ahauton, is called to be teacher in his stead. He is a promising young man, of a single and upright heart, a good judgment, he prayeth and preacheth well, he is studious and industrious, and well accounted of among the English. . . .

Nashope is our next praying town, a place of much affliction ; it was the chief place of residence, where Tahattawans lived, a sachem of the blood, a faithful and zealous christian, a strict yet gentle ruler ; he was a ruler of fifty in our civil order ; and when God took him, a chief man in our Israel was taken away from us. His only son was a while vain, but proved good, expert in the Scripture, was elected to rule in his father's place, but soon died, insomuch that this place is now destitute of a ruler. The teacher of the place is John Thomas, a godly understanding christian, well esteemed of by the English : his father was killed by the Mauquaogs, shot to death as he was in the river doing his eel-weirs. This place lying in the road-way which the Mauquaogs haunted, was much molested by them, and was one year wholly deserted ; but this year the people have taken courage and dwell upon it again.

In this place after the great earthquake, there was some eruption out of the earth, which left a great hiatus or cleft a great way together, and out of some cavities under great rocks, by a great pond in that place, there was a great while after often heard an

humming noise, as if there were frequent eruptions out of the ground at that place : yet for healthfulness the place is much as other places be. For religion, there be amongst them some godly christians, who are received into the church, and baptized, and others looking that way.

Panatuket is the upper part of Merimak-Falls ; so called, because of the noise which the waters make. Thither the Penagwog-Indians are come, and have built a great fort ; their sachems refused to pray to God, so signally and sinfully, that Captain Gookin and myself were very sensible of it, and were not without some expectation of some interposure of a Divine Hand, which did eminently come to pass ; for in the forenamed expedition they joined with the northern sachems, and were all of them cut off ; even all that had so signally refused to pray unto God were now as signally rejected by God, and cut off. I hear not that it was ever known, that so many sachems and men of note were killed in one imprudent expedition, and that by a few scattered people ; for the Mauquaogs were not imbodyed to receive them, nor prepared, and few at home, which did much greaten the overthrow of so many great men, and shews a divine over-ruling hand of God. But now, since the Penaguog-Sachems are cut off, the people (sundry of them) dwelling at Panatuket-Fort do bow the ear to hear, and submit to pray unto God ; to whom Jethro, after he had confest Christ and was baptized, was sent to preach Christ to them.

A LETTER FROM ELIOT TO HON.
ROBERT BOYLE.

ROXBURY, April 22, 1684.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND INDEFATIGABLE BENEFACTORS :

This last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian Bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your Honors all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton to give me an intimation, that your honors desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians ; and also, when Moses's Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

Your Honor's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the Sabbath, in all the places of their public meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the authority of the English laws, which Major Gookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors ; as also and especially, the clear and express command of God, which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their catechisms ; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty, to keep holy the Sabbath day. So that the sanctifying of the Sabbath is a great and eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and

carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every Sabbath day, both morning and evening, as the English do. . . .

Moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto this service of Christ ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college ; he hath taught and trained up two classes of our young scholars unto their commencement ; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month ; which lecture, many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore-prepared. We apprehend, that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his courts in the English tongue ; which doth greatly further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue ; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your Honors have manifested your desires, that it might be attended.

As for the sending any numbers of Moses's Pentateuch, I beseech your Honors to spare us in that ;

because so many as we send, so many Bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your Honors with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished ; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your Honors command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian ; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us ; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your Honors no further trouble at this time, only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

Your Honors' to serve you in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH, the most popular of early New England poets, was born in England, probably in Yorkshire in 1631, and died in 1705, at Malden, Massachusetts, where he had been for nearly fifty years pastor. He was of sturdy Puritan parentage, was brought by his father to Charlestown when he was but seven years old, and soon taken thence to New Haven. Here he was fitted for Harvard, from which he graduated in the class of 1651. He taught there as tutor till 1654, preaching occasionally in Charlestown and in Malden. He was called to the latter place in 1654, but not actually ordained till two years later. Meantime his father had died. The son in his autobiography pays a warm tribute to the father's self-sacrifice and pious trust in devoting him to the ministry. "God let him live to see how acceptable to himself this service was in giving his only son to God and bringing him up to learning."

The father's health had been frail, and the son seems to have inherited a feeble constitution. Ill-health delayed his ordination as we have seen, and it frequently interrupted his ministry. It was during these periods of enforced leisure that he composed his doggerel epitome of Calvinistic theology, *The Day of Doom or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last*

Judgment. This was first published in 1662, and attained immediately a phenomenal popularity. Eighteen hundred copies were sold within a year, and for the next century it held a secure place in Puritan households. As late as 1828 it was stated that many aged persons were still alive who could repeat it, as it had been taught them with their catechism ; and the more widely one reads in the voluminous sermons of that generation, the more fair will its representation of prevailing theology in New England appear. It satisfied for that age a taste for the shudder in literature, a taste not schooled in New England to demand the artistic expression which had been given to allied themes by Dante and by Milton. It is one of the strange ironies of literature, that the fierce denunciations of the reprobate, and the terrible images of damnation with which the poem abounds, should have been penned by a man whom we know to have been in life a frail and genial philanthropist, so cheerful that some of his friends thought he could not be so sick as he averred. Dr. Peabody used to call him " a man of the beatitudes," ministering not alone to the spiritual but to the physical needs of his flock, having studied medicine for that purpose. He found favor even with the gentler sex, for he was at least thrice married, to Mary Reyner, Martha Mudge, and Sybil (Avery) Sparhawk. His descendants played an honorable part in the history of New England.

Beside the *Day of Doom*, Wigglesworth wrote *God's Controversy with New England*, and a very popular meditation on the "Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Affliction," which he called *Meat*

out of the Eater. The following epitaph upon him is attributed to Cotton Mather : —

“ His pen did once Meat from the Eater take
And now he's gone beyond the Eater's reach.
His body once so thin was next to none
From hence he's to unbodied spirits flown.
Once his rare skill did all diseases heal
And he doth nothing now uneasy feel.
He to his paradise is joyful come
And waits with joy to see his Day of Doom.”

THE DAY OF DOOM.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

READER, I am a fool
And have adventurèd
To play the fool this once for Christ,
The more his fame to spread.
If this my foolishness
Help thee to be more wise,
I have attainèd what I seek,
And what I only prize.

Thou wonderest, perhaps,
That I in print appear,
Who to the pulpit dwell so nigh,
Yet come so seldom there.
The God of Heaven knows
What grief to me it is,
To be withheld from serving Christ ;
No sorrow like to this.

This is the sorest pain
That I have felt or feel ;
Yet have I stood some shocks that might
Make stronger men to reel.
I find more true delight
In serving of the Lord,
Than all the good things upon Earth,
Without it, can afford.

And could my strength endure
That work I count so dear,
Not all the riches of Peru
Should hire me to forbear.
But I'm a prisoner,
Under a heavy chain ;
Almighty God's afflicting hand
Doth me by force restrain.

Yet some (*I know*) do judge
Mine inability
To come abroad and do Christ's work.
To be melancholy ;
And that I'm not so weak
As I myself conceit ;
But who in other things have found
Me so conceited yet ?

Or who of all my friends
That have my trials seen,
Can tell the time in seven years
When I have dumpish been ?
Some think my voice is strong,

Most times when I do preach ;
But ten days after, what I feel
And suffer few can reach.

My prison'd thoughts break forth,
When open'd is the door,
With greater force and violence,
And strain my voice the more.
But vainly do they tell
That I am growing stronger,
Who hear me speak in half an hour,
Till I can speak no longer.

Some for because they see not
My cheerfulness to fail,
Nor that I am disconsolate,
Do think I nothing ail.
If they had borne my griefs,
Their courage might have fail'd them,
And all the town (perhaps) have known
(Once and again) what ail'd them.

But why should I complain
That have so good a God,
That doth mine heart with comfort fill
Ev'n whilst I feel his rod ?
In God I have been strong,
But wearied and worn out,
And joy'd in him, when twenty woes
Assail'd me round about.

Nor speak I this to boast,
But make apology

For mine own self, and answer those
That fail in charity.
I am, alas ! as frail,
Impatiènt a creature,
As most that tread upon the ground,
And have as bad a nature.

Let God be magnified,
Whose everlasting strength
Upholds me under sufferings
Of more than ten years' length ;
Through whose Almighty pow'r,
Although I am surrounded
With sorrows more than can be told,
Yet am I not confounded.

For his dear sake have I
This service undertaken,
For I am bound to honor him
Who hath not me forsaken.
I am a debtor, too,
Unto the sons of men,
Whom, wanting other means, I would
Advantage with my pen.

I would, but ah ! my strength,
When trièd, proves so small,
That to the ground without effect
My wishes often fall.
Weak heads, and hands, and states,
Great things cannot produce ;
And therefore I this little piece
Have publish'd for thine use.

Although the thing be small,
Yet my good will therein
Is nothing less than if it had
A larger volume been.
Accept it then in love,
And read it for thy good ;
There's nothing in't can do thee hurt,
If rightly understood.

The God of Heaven grant
These lines so well to speed,
That thou the things of thine own peace
Through them may'st better heed ;
And may'st be stirrèd up
To stand upon thy guard,
That Death and Judgment may not come
To find thee unprepar'd.

Oh, get a part in Christ,
And make the Judge thy friend ;
So shalt thou be assurèd of
A happy, glorious end.
Thus prays thy real friend
And servant for Christ's sake,
Who, had he strength, would not refuse
More pains for thee to take.

[DOOMING THE REPROBATE INFANT.]

(clxvi-clxxxi.)

Then to the Bar all they drew near
 Who died in infancy,
 And never had or good or bad
 effected pers'nally ;
 But from the womb unto the tomb
 were straightway carrièd,
 (Or at the least ere they trangress'd)
 who thus began to plead :

Reprobate
 Infants plead
 for them-
 selves.

Rev. 20: 12,
 15,
 compared
 with Rom. 5,
 12, 14, and
 9: 11, 13.
 Ezek. 18: 2.

“ If for our own transgressi-on,
 or disobedience,
 We here did stand at thy left hand,
 just were the Recompense ;
 But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt,
 his fault is charg'd upon us ;
 And that alone hath overthrown
 and utterly undone us.

“ Not we, but he ate of the tree,
 whose fruit was interdicted ;
 Yet on us all of his sad fall
 the punishment's inflicted.
 How could we sin that had not been,
 or how is his sin our,
 Without consent, which to prevent
 we never had the pow'r ?

“ O great Creator, why was our nature
 depravèd and forlorn ?

Why so defil'd, and made so vil'd,
 whilst we were yet unborn ?
 If it be just, and needs we must
 transgressors reckon'd be,
 Thy mercy, Lord, to us afford,
 which sinners hath set free.

Psal. 51: 5.

“ Behold we see Adam set free,
 and sav'd from his trespass,
 Whose sinful fall hath split us all,
 and brought us to this pass.
 Canst thou deny us once to try,
 Or grace to us to tender,
 When he finds grace before thy face
 who was the chief offender ? ”

Then answerèd the Judge most dread :

“ God doth such doom forbid,
 That men should die eternally
 for what they never did.
 But what you call old Adam's fall,
 and only his trespass,
 You call amiss to call it his,
 both his and yours it was.

Their
 arguments
 taken off.
 Ezek. 18: 20.
 Rom.
 5: 12, 19.

“ He was design'd of all mankind
 to be a public head ;
 A common root, whence all should
 shoot,
 and stood in all their stead.
 He stood and fell, did ill or well,
 not for himself alone,

1 Cor.
 15: 48, 49.

But for you all, who now his Fall
and trespass would disown.

“ If he had stood, then all his brood
had been establishèd
In God’s true love never to move,
nor once awry to tread ;
Then all his race my Father’s grace
should have enjoy’d for ever
And wicked sprites by subtile sleights
could them have harmèd never.

“ Would you have griev’d to have receiv’d
through Adam so much good,
As had been your for evermore,
if he at first had stood ?
Would you have said, ‘ We ne’er obey’d
nor did thy laws regard ;
It ill befits, with benefits,
us, Lord, to so reward ? ’

“ Since then to share in his welfare,
you could have been content,
You may with reason share in his treason,
and in the punishment,
Hence you were born in state forlorn,
with natures so depravèd
Death was your due because that you
had thus yourselves behavèd.

Rom. 5:12.
Psal. 51:5.
Gen. 5:3.

“ You think ‘ If we had been as he
whom God did so betrusted,

We to our cost would ne'er have lost
all for a paltry lust.'

Had you been made in Adam's stead, Mat.
you would like things have wrought, 23:30, 31.
And so into the self-same woe
yourselves and yours have brought.

"I may deny you once to try,
or grace to you to tender,
Though he finds grace before my face
who was the chief offender ; Rom.
Else should my grace cease to be grace, 9:15, 18.
for it would not be free, The free gift.
If to release whom I should please Rom. 5:15.
I have no liberty.

"If upon one what's due to none
I frankly shall bestow,
And on the rest shall not think best
compassion's skirt to throw,
Whom injure I ? Will you envy
and grudge at others' weal ?
Or me accuse, who do refuse
yourselves to help and heal ?

"Am I alone of what's my own,
no master or no lord ?
And if I am, how can you claim Mat. 20:15.
what I to some afford ?
Will you demand grace at my hand, and
challenge what is mine ?
Will you teach me whom to set free,
and thus my grace confine ?

“ You sinners are, and such a share
as sinners may expect ;

Such you shall have, for I do save
none but mine own Elect.

Yet to compare your sin with their
who liv'd a longer time,

I do confess yours is much less
though every sin's a crime.

Psal. 58:8.
Rom. 6:23.
Gal. 3:10.
Rom. 8:29,
30 and 11:7.
Rev. 21:27.
Luke
12:14, 8.
Mat. 11:22.

“ A crime it is, therefore in bliss
you may not hope to dwell ;

But unto you I shall allow
the easiest room in Hell.”

The wicked
all
convinced
and put to
silence.
Rom. 3:19.
Mat. 22:12.

[DISSOLVING DOMESTIC TIES.]

(CXCv.—CC.)

Unto the Saints with sad complaints
should they themselves apply ?

They're not dejected nor aught affected
with all their misery.

Rev. 21:4.
Psal. 58:10.

Friends stand aloof and make no proof
what prayers or tears can do ;

Your Godly friends are now more friends
to Christ than unto you.

Where tender love men's hearts did move
unto a sympathy,

And bearing part of others' smart
in their anxiety,

1 Cor. 6:2.

Now such compassion is out of fashion,
 and wholly laid aside ;
 No friends so near, but Saints to hear
 their Sentence can abide.

One natural brother beholds another
 in his astonied fit,
 Yet sorrows not thereat a jot,
 nor pities him a whit.
 The godly wife conceives no grief
 nor can she shed a tear
 For the sad state of her dear mate
 when she his doom doth hear.

Compare
 Prov. 1 : 26
 with
 1 John 3 : 2,
 and 2 Cor.
 5 : 16.

He that was erst a husband pierc'd
 with sense of wife's distress,
 Whose tender heart did bear a part
 of all her grievances.
 Shall mourn no more as heretofore,
 because of her ill plight,
 Although he see her now to be
 a damn'd forsaken wight.

The tender mother will own no other
 of all her num'rous brood
 But such as stand at Christ's right hand,
 acquitted through his Blood.
 The pious father had now much rather
 his graceless son should lie
 In hell with devils, for all his evils,
 burning eternally.

Luke 16 : 25.

Than God most High should injury
by sparing him sustain ;
And doth rejoice to hear Christ's voice, Psal. 58: 10.
adjudging him to pain.

JOHN JOSSELYN.

JOHN JOSSELYN, an English traveller in New England and a writer of almost incredible credulity, was the son of Sir Thomas Josselyn of Kent, where he was born early in the seventeenth century. The time of his death is uncertain. He visited New England first in July, 1638, when he "presented his respects to Mr. Winthrop the Governor and to Mr. Cotton the preacher of Boston Church, to whom he delivered from Mr. Francis Quarles, the poet, the translation of several psalms in English metre." He sojourned fifteen months in the colony, and revisited it twenty-four years later, remaining eight years. On his return in 1671, he published *New England's Rarities, discovered in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, and Plants of that Country*, with a picture of Boston in 1663. This volume was reprinted with notes by Edward Tuckerman in 1865. Josselyn wrote also *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, and a compilation of *The Most Remarkable Passages from the First Discovery of the Continent of America to 1673*, reprinted with *New England's Rarities* (1865). He is frank in criticism, somewhat affected in style. His interest is more in the curiosities of nature than in questions of religious or social polity. His credulousness rises almost to genius, as when he tells us that the Indians disputed "in perfect hexameter verse."

The hornets' nest mistaken for a rare fruit and gathered with disastrous results, as may be seen in our extract, has been made familiar by the verses of Longfellow.

JOSSELYN'S FIRST EXPERIENCES.

[FROM "AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW ENGLAND." 1675.]

1637. May, which fell out to be extreme hot and foggy. About the middle of May I killed within a stone's throw of our house above four score snakes, some of them as big as the small of my leg, black of color, and three yards long, with a sharp horn on the tip of their tail two inches in length.

June, the sixth and twentieth day, very stormy, lightning and thunder. I heard now two of the greatest and fearfulest thunder claps that ever were heard, I am confident.

At this time we had some neighboring gentlemen in our house, who came to welcome me into the country; where amongst variety of discourse they told me of a young lion (not long before) killed at Piscataway by an Indian; of a sea-serpent or snake, that lay coiled up like a cable upon a rock at Cape Ann: a boat passing by with English aboard, and two Indians, they would have shot the serpent, but the Indians dissuaded them, saying, that if he were not killed outright, they would be all in danger of their lives.

One Mr. Mittin related of a triton or merman which he saw in Casco Bay. This gentleman was a

great fowler, and used to go out with a small boat or canoe, and fetching a compass about a small island (there being many small islands in the bay), for the advantage of a shot, was encountered with a triton, who laying his hands upon the side of the canoe, had one of them chopt off with a hatchet by Mr. Mittin, which was in all respects like the hand of a man. The triton presently sunk, dyeing the water with his purple blood, and was no more seen. The next story was told by Mr. Foxwell, now living in the province of Maine, who having been to the eastward in a shallop, as far as Cape Anna-waggon, in his return was overtaken by the night, and fearing to land upon the barbarous shore, he put off a little further to sea. About midnight they were wakened with a loud voice from the shore, calling upon "Foxwell, Foxwell ! come ashore !" two or three times. Upon the sands they saw a great fire, and men and women hand in hand dancing round about it in a ring. After an hour or two they vanished, and as soon as the day appeared, Foxwell puts into a small cove, it being about three quarters flood, and traces along the shore, where he found the footing of men, women and children shod with shoes ; and an infinite number of brands ends thrown up by the water, but neither Indian nor English could he meet with on the shore, nor in the woods. These with many other stories they told me, the credit whereof I will neither impeach nor enforce, but shall satisfy myself, and I hope the reader hereof, with the saying of a wise, learned and honorable knight, that "there are many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Stanes." . . .

. . . In the afternoon [Oct. 2] I walked into the woods on the back side of the house, and happening into a fine broad walk (which was a sledge-way) I wandered till I chanced to spy a fruit as I thought like a pine-apple plated with scales. It was as big as the crown of a woman's hat. I made bold to step unto it, with an intent to have gathered it. No sooner had I touched it, but hundreds of wasps were about me. At last I cleared myself from them, being stung only by one upon the upper lip. Glad I was that I escaped so well; but by that time I was come into the house my lip was swelled so extremely, that they hardly knew me but by my garments.

ITEMS FROM HIS SECOND ACCOUNT.

. . . So fared it with me, that having escaped the dangers of one voyage, must needs put on a resolution for a second, wherein I plowed many a churlish billow with little or no advantage, but rather to my loss and detriment. In the setting down whereof I purpose not to insist on a methodical way, but according to my quality, in a plain and brief relation as I have done already; for I perceive, if I used all the art that possibly I could, it would be difficult to please all, for all men's eyes, ears, faith, judgment, are not of a size. There be a sort of stagnant stinking spirits, who, like flies, lie sucking at the botches of carnal pleasures, and never travelled so much sea as is between Hethferry and Lyon-Key; yet notwithstanding, (sitting in the chair of the scornful over their whiffs and

drafts of intoxication) will desperately censure the relations of the greatest travellers.

It was a good *proviso* of a learned man, never to report wonders, for in so doing, of the greatest he will be sure not to be believed, but laughed at ; which certainly bewrays their ignorance and want of discretion. Of fools and madmen, then, I shall take no care. I will not invite these in the least to honor me with a glance from their supercilious eyes ; but rather advise them to keep their inspection for their fine-tongued romances and plays. This homely piece, I protest ingenuously, is prepared for such only who well know how to make use of their charitable constructions towards works of this nature, to whom I submit myself in all my faculties. . . .

There is an admirable rare creature in shape like a buck, with horns, of a gummy substance, which I have often found in the fall of the leaf upon the ground amongst the withered leaves ; a living creature I cannot call it, having only the sign of a mouth and eyes. Seldom or never shall you meet with any of them whole, but the head and horns, or the hinder parts, broken off from the rest. The Indians call them tree bucks, and have a superstitious saying (for I believe they never see any of them living) that if they can see a tree buck walking upon the branches of an oak when they go out in a morning to hunt, they shall have good luck that day. What they are good for I know not, but certainly there is some more than ordinary virtue in them. It is true that nothing in nature is superfluous, and we have the Scripture to back it, that God created nothing in vain. The like creatures they have at the Barbadoes

which they call Negroes' heads, found in the sands, about two inches long, with forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and part of the neck, they are always found loose in the sands without any root, it is as black as jet, but whence it comes they know not. I have read likewise, that in the Canaries or Fortunate Islands, there is found a certain creature, which boys bring home from the mountains as oft as they would, and named them Tudesquels or little Germans : for they were dried dead carcasses, almost three-footed, which any boy did easily carry in one of the palms of his hand, and they were of an human shape ; but the whole dead carcass was clearly like unto parchment, and their bones were flexible, as it were gristles ; against the sun, also, their bowels and intestines were seen. " Surely," saith my author, " the destroyed race of the Pigmies was there."

There is also many times found upon the leaves of the oak a creature like a frog, being as thin as a leaf, and transparent, as yellow as gold, with little fiery red eyes, the English call them tree-frogs or tree-toads. . . .

The toad is of two sorts, one that is speckled with white, and another of a dark earthy color ; there is of them that will climb up into trees and sit croaking there ; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm ; but this I can testify that there be toads of the dark colored kind that are as big as a great loaf. Which report will not swell into the belief of my sceptic sirs ; nor that there is a hell, being like Solomon's fool, Prov. xxvi. 22.

The country is strangely incommodated with flies,

DESCRIPTION OF AN INDIAN SQUAW. 67

which the English call Musketaes, they are like our gnats, they will sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the English swelled and scabby, as of the small pox for the first year. Likewise there is a small black fly no bigger than a flea, so numerous up in the country, that a man cannot draw his breath, but that he will suck of them in ; they continue about thirty days say some but I say three months, and are not only a pesterment but a plague to the country.

FROM NEW ENGLAND'S RARITIES DISCOVERED. 1672.

A PERFECT DESCRIPTION OF AN INDIAN SQUAW IN ALL HER BRAVERY ; WITH A POEM NOT IMPROPERLY CONFERRED UPON HER.

Now, gentle Reader, having trespassed upon your patience a long while in the perusing of these rude observations, I shall, to make you amends, present you by way of divertisement or recreation, with a copy of verses made some time since upon the picture of a young and handsome gypsy, not improperly transferred upon the Indian Squaw, or female Indian, tricked up in all her bravery.

. . . The Men are somewhat horse-faced, and generally faucious, *i.e.* without beards ; but the Women many of them have very good features ; seldom without a “ Come to me,” or *Cos Amoris*, in their countenance. All of them black-eyed, having even, short teeth, and very white ; their hair

black, thick, and long ; broad-breasted, handsome, straight bodies, and slender, considering their constant loose habit ; their limbs cleanly, straight, and of a convenient stature, generally as plump as partridges, and having here and there one of a modest deportment.

Their garments are a pair of sleeves of deer, or moose skin drest, and drawn with lines of several colors into Asiatic works, with buskins of the same, a short mantle of trading cloth, either blue or red, fastened with a knot under the chin and girt about the middle with a zone, wrought with white and blue beads into pretty works. Of these beads they have bracelets for their neck and arms, and links to hang in their ears, and a fair table curiously made up with beads likewise, to wear before their breast. Their hair they comb backward, and tie it up short with a border about two handfuls broad, wrought in works as the other with their beads. But enough of this.

THE POEM.

Whether White or Black be best
Call your senses to the quest ;
And your touch shall quickly tell
The Black in softness doth excel
And in smoothness ; but the ear,
What, can that a color hear ?
No, but 't is your Black one's wit
That doth catch and captive it.
And if Slut and Fair be one,
Sweet and Fair, there can be none ;
Nor can aught so please the taste
As what's brown and lovely drest.

And who 'll say that that is best
To please one's sense, displease the rest ?
Maugre then all that can be said
In flattery of White and Red ;
Those flatterers themselves must say
That darkness was before the day ;
And such perfection here appears,
It neither wind nor sunshine fears.

NEW ENGLAND'S LAWS AND WAYS, AN UNSYMPATHETIC VIEW.

[FROM THE SAME.]

. . . EVERY Town sends two burgesses to their great and solemn general court.

For being drunk, they either whip or impose a fine of five shillings ; so for swearing and cursing, or boring through the tongue with a hot iron.

For kissing a woman in the street, though in way of civil salute, whipping or a fine. . . .

Scolds they gag and set them at their doors for certain hours, for all comers and goers by to gaze at.

Stealing is punished with restoring fourfold, if able ; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor debtors.

If you desire a further inspection to their laws, for I must refer you to them being in print, too many to be inserted into this relation.

The governments of their churches are Independent and Presbyterial, every church (for so they call their

particular congregations) have one pastor, one teacher, ruling elders and deacons.

They that are members of their churches have the sacraments administred to them, the rest that are out of the pale as they phrase it, are denied it. Many hundred souls there be amongst them grown up to men and women's estate that were never christened.

They judge every man and woman to pay five shillings per day, who comes not to their assemblies, and impose fines of forty shillings and fifty shillings on such as meet together to worship God.

Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again.

Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

The government both civil and ecclesiastical is in the hands of the thorough-pac'd Independents and rigid Presbyterians.

The gross *Goddons*, or great masters, as also some of their merchants are damnable rich; generally all of their judgment, inexplicably covetous and proud, they receive your gifts but as an homage or tribute due to their transcendency, which is a fault their clergy are also guilty of, whose living is upon the bounty of their hearers. On Sundays in the afternoon when sermon is ended the people in the galleries come down and march two a-breast up one aisle and down the other, until they come before the desk, for pulpit they have none: before the desk is a long pew where the Elders and Deacons sit, one of them with a money box in his hand, into which the people as they pass put their offering, some a shilling, some two shillings, half a crown, five shillings, according to their ability and good will,

after this they conclude with a Psalm ; but this by the way.

The chiefest objects of discipline, religion, and morality they want, some are of a linsey-woolsey disposition, of several professions in religion, all like *Æthiopians* white in the Teeth, only full of ludification and injurious dealing, and cruelty the extremest of all vices. The chiefest cause of Noah's flood, Prov. 27. 26. *Agni erant ad vestitum tuum*, is a frequent text among them, no trading for a stranger with them, but with a Grecian faith, which is not to part with your ware without ready money, for they are generally in their payments recusant and slow, great syndies, or censors, or controllers of other men's manners, and savagely factious amongst themselves.

There are many strange women too, (in Solomon's sense), more the pity ; when a woman hath lost her chastity she hath no more to lose.

But mistake me not to general speeches, none but the guilty take exceptions, there are many sincere and religious people amongst them, descried by their charity and humility (the true characters of christianity) by their *Zenodochy* or hospitality, by their hearty submission to their sovereign the King of England, by their diligent and honest labor in their callings, amongst these we may account the royalists, who are looked upon with an evil eye, and tongue, bolted or punished if they chance to lash out ; the tame Indian (for so they call those that are born in the country) are pretty honest too, and may in good time be known for honest King's men.

They have store of children, and are well accommodated with servants ; many hands make light work,

many hands make a full fraught, but many mouths eat up all, as some old planters have experimented ; of these some are English, others Negroes : of the English there are can eat till they sweat, and work till they freeze ; and of the females that are like Mrs. Winter's paddocks, very tender fingerd in cold weather.

There are none that beg in the country, but there be witches too many, bottled-bellied witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparitions if you will believe report, of a shallop at sea manned with women ; of a ship and a great red horse standing by the main-mast, the ship being in a small cove to the east-ward vanished of a sudden. Of a witch that appeared aboard of a ship twenty leagues to sea to a mariner who took up the carpenter's broad axe and cleft her head with it, the witch dying of the wound at home, with such like bugbears and *Terriculimentaes*.

THE MEN OF MAINE.

[FROM "AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW ENGLAND." 1675.]

THE people in the province of Maine may be divided into magistrates, husbandmen or planters, and fishermen ; of the magistrates some be royalists, the rest perverse spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others mere fishers.

Handicraftsmen there are but few, the tumelor or

cooper, smiths and carpenters are best welcome amongst them, shopkeepers there are none, being supplied by the Massachusetts merchant with all things they stand in need of, keeping here and there fair magazines stored with English goods, but they set excessive prices on them, if they do not gain cent per cent, they cry out that they are losers. . . .

The planters are or should be restless painstakers, providing for their cattle, planting and sowing of corn, fencing their grounds, cutting and bringing home fuel, cleaving of claw-board and pipe-staves, fishing for fresh water fish and fowling takes up most of their time, if not all ; the diligent hand maketh rich, but if they be of a dronish disposition as some are, they become wretchedly poor and miserable, scarce able to free themselves and family from importunate famine, especially in the winter for want of bread.

They have a custom of taking tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals, sometimes four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily : the smoking of tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary much, and so doth sleep.

A traveller five hours doth crave
To sleep, a student seven will have,
And nine sleeps every idle knave.

The physician allows but three draughts at a meal, the first for need, the second for pleasure, and the third for sleep ; but little observed by them, unless they have no other liquor to drink but water. In some places where the springs are frozen up, or at least the way to their springs made unpassable by reason of the snow and the like, they dress their meat in *aqua cælestis*, i.e., melted snow. At other times it

is very well cooked, and they feed upon (generally) as good flesh, beef, pork, mutton, fowl, and fish as any is in the whole world besides.

Their servants, which are for the most part English, when they are out of their time, will not work under half a crown a day, although it be for to make hay, and for less I do not see how they can, by reason of the dearness of clothing. If they hire them by the year, they pay them fourteen or fifteen pound, yea, twenty pound at the year's end in corn, cattle and fish : some of these prove excellent fowlers, bringing in as many as will maintain their master's house ; besides the profit that accrues by their feathers. They use (when it is to be had) a great round shot, called Barstable shot (which is best for fowl, made of a lead blacker than our common lead ; to six pound of shot they allow one pound of powder ; cannon powder is esteemed best.

The fishermen take yearly upon the coasts many hundred quintals of cod, hake, haddock, pollack, etc., which they split, salt and dry at their stages, making three voyages in a year. When they share their fish (which is at the end of every voyage) they separate the best from the worst, the first they call merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up, which is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots ; the second sort they call refuse fish — that is, such as is salt burnt, spotted, rotten, and carelessly ordered : these they put off to the Massachusetts merchants ; the merchantable for thirty and two and thirty reals a quintal (a quintal is an hundred and twelve pound weight) ; the refuse for nine shillings and ten shillings a quintal. The merchant

sends the merchantable fish to Lisbon, Bilbao, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, Rochelle, Rouen, and other cities of France, to the Canaries with claw-board and pipe-staves which is there and at the Caribs a prime commodity : the refuse fish they put off at the Carib Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, etc., who feed their negroes with it.

To every shallop belong four fishermen, a master or steersman, a midshipman, and a foremastman, and a shoreman who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles pitched upon stakes breast high and tends their cookery ; these often get in one voyage eight or nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them little good, for the merchant to increase his gains by putting off his commodity in the midst of their voyages, and at the end thereof comes in with a walking tavern, a bark laden with the legitimate blood of the rich grape, which they bring from Fayal, Madeira, Canaries, with brandy, rum, the Barbadoes strong water, and tobacco. Coming ashore he gives them a taster or two, which so charms them, that for no persuasions that their employers can use will they go out to sea, although fair and seasonable weather, for two or three days — nay, sometimes a whole week — till they are wearied with drinking, taking ashore two or three hogsheads of wine and rum to drink off when the merchant is gone. If a man of quality chance to come where they are roistering and gulling in wine with a dear felicity, he must be sociable and rollypooly with them, taking off their liberal cups as freely, or else be gone, which is best for him, for when wine in their guts is at full tide they quarrel, fight and do one another mischief,

which is the conclusion of their drunken computations. When the day of payment comes, they may justly complain of their costly sin of drunkenness, for their shares will do no more than pay the reckoning ; if they save a quintal or two to buy shoes and stockings, shirts and waistcoats with, 'tis well, otherwise they must enter into the merchant's books for such things as they stand in need of, becoming thereby the merchant's slaves, and when it riseth to a big sum are constrained to mortgage their plantation, if they have any ; the merchant when the time is expired is sure to seize upon their plantation and stock of cattle, turning them out of house and home, poor creatures, to look out for a new habitation in some remote place, where they begin the world again. The lavish planters have the same fate, partaking with them in the like bad husbandry ; of these the merchant buys beef, pork, pease, wheat and Indian-corn, and sells it again many times to the fishermen. Of the same nature are the people in the Duke's province, who not long before I left the country petitioned the governor and magistrates in the Massachusetts to take them into their government. Birds of a feather will rally together. . . .

JOSSELYN'S CONCLUSION.

Now by the merciful providence of the Almighty, having performed two voyages to the northeast parts of the western world, I am safely arrived in my native country, having in part made good the French proverb—travel where thou canst, but die where thou oughtest, that is, in thine own country.

DANIEL GOOKIN.

DANIEL GOOKIN was born in Kent, England, about 1612, and died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 19, 1687, after a distinguished career as soldier, historian, and protector of the Indians from unjust exploitations. Gookin went with his father to Virginia in 1621, but, sympathizing rather with the Puritan than with the Cavalier, he moved, in 1644, to Cambridge, where he was soon made captain of militia and was elected to the Massachusetts House of Deputies, of which he became Speaker in 1651. In 1652 he was elected magistrate, and in 1656 appointed Superintendent of all Indians under civil authority. He held this office till his death, in spite of unpopularity, occasioned by the protection he gave to his aboriginal wards during and after King Philip's War. He was associated with Eliot in mission work among the Indians. He visited England in 1656 and again in 1657, efficiently protecting on his return in 1660 the fugitive regicides Goffe and Whalley. He was one of the licensers of the Cambridge Printing Press in 1662, wrote in 1674 *Historical Collections of the Indians of Massachusetts* (published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1792), and also a never-published and long since lost *History of New England*. The prospectus of this second book, issued with his first, is so good as to make us regret greatly the loss

of his manuscript, which was probably destroyed by fire. A third work of Gookin's, *An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England*, finished in 1677, just after King Philip's War, was also lost for many years, but was finally found in England and sent back to America, the American Antiquarian Society printing it in the second volume of their *Transactions* (1836). In 1681 Gookin was made Major-General of the Colony, and was an active assertor of popular rights in the agitation which preceded the withdrawal of the Colonial Charter (1686), thus recovering much of the favor he had lost by his advocacy of charity toward the Christian Indians. He died so poor that his friend Eliot solicited ten pounds from Robert Boyle for his widow. Both as a brave, good man and a scholarly, straightforward writer he deserves to be better remembered.

GOOKIN TO CHARLES II.

[FROM "HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS
IN NEW ENGLAND," WRITTEN IN 1674.]

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the High and Mighty Prince Charles, by the
Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and
Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Royal Sir,

I have read that Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of
Persia, going his progress, the people used to present

him with their several gifts in the way ; and among the rest a countryman, having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river, and taking up his hands full of water, presented him with that. Artaxerxes was so taken therewith, that he gave the fellow a considerable beneficence.

So have I, dread Sovereign, presumed to offer this poor mite, as a testimony of my affection. I must acknowledge it is most unworthy to kiss your royal hands, being so meanly apparelled in an Indian garb. But the matter therein contained, being a true account of the progress of the Gospel among the poor Indians, within your dominions, and that under the influence of your royal favor, this, as I conceive, is not unmeet for your Majesty's knowledge. Therefore let it please your Majesty graciously to accept and peruse these Collections, and especially that humble proposal made in Chap. 12. Sect. 5. as a necessary expedient to promote this great work, and which must have its life, under God, from the rays of your Majesty's favor.

The God of heaven and earth bless your Majesty with all temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings in Christ Jesus ; and make you more and more a nursing father to his church ; that under your shadow it may rejoice, and every individual person thereof be encouraged in all ways of godliness and honesty.

So prayeth he that is one of the most unworthy, yet desirous to be reckoned among the number of your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects.

DANIEL GOOKIN.

Cambridge in New England, December 7th, 1674.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS.

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. I.]

CONCERNING the original of the Savages, or Indians, in New England, there is nothing of certainty to be concluded. But yet, as I conceive, it may rationally be made out that all the Indians of America, from the Straits of Magellan and its adjacent islands on the south, unto the most northerly part yet discovered, are originally of the same nations or sort of people. Whatever I have read or seen to this purpose, I am the more confirmed therein. I have seen of this people, along the sea coasts and within land, from the degrees of 34 unto 44 of north latitude ; and have read of the Indians of Magellanico, Peru, Brasilia, and Florida, and have also seen some of them and unto my best apprehension, they are all the same sort of people.

The color of their skins, the form and shape of their bodies, hair, and eyes, demonstrate this. Their skins are of a tawny color, not unlike the tawny Moors in Africa ; the proportion of their limbs, well formed ; it is rare to see a crooked person among them. Their hair is black and harsh, not curling ; their eyes, black and dull ; though I have seen, but very rarely, a gray-eyed person among them, with brownish hair. But still the difficulty yet remains, whence all these Americans had their first original, and from which of the sons of Noah they descended, and how they came first into these parts ; which is separated so very far from Europe and Africa by the

Atlantic Ocean, and from a great part of Asia, by Mar del Zur, or the South sea : in which sea Sir Francis Drake, that noble hero, in his famous voyage about the world, sailed on the west of America, from the straits of Magellan, lying about 52 degrees of south latitude, unto 38 degrees of north latitude : where he possessed a part of the country, and received subjection from those very tractable Indians, in the right of the English nation, and his sovereign prince, the famous queen Elizabeth, then reigning, and her successors, and gave it the name of New Albion : which country. lies west northerly of Massachusetts in New England : for Boston lies in $42^{\circ} 30'$ and New Albion in 48° of north latitude, which is near six degrees more northerly.

There are divers opinions about this matter.

First, some conceive that this people are of the race of the ten tribes of Israel, that Shalmaneser carried captive out of their own country, A.M. 3277, of which we read in II. Kings, xviii. 9-12 ; and that God hath, by some means or other, not yet discovered, brought them into America ; and herein fulfilled his just threatening against them, of which we may read, II. Kings, xvii. from 6 to the 19. verse ; and hath reduced them into such woful blindness and barbarism, as all those Americans are in ; yet hath reserved their posterity there : and in his own best time, will fulfil and accomplish his promise, that those dry bones shall live, of which we read Ezek. xxxvii. 1-24. A reason given for this is taken from the practice of sundry Americans, especially of those inhabiting Peru and Mexico, who were most populous, and had great cities and wealth, and hence are probably apprehended to be the first possessors of America.

Now of these the historians write, that they used circumcision and sacrifice, though oftentimes of human flesh : so did the Israelites sacrifice their sons unto Moloch, II. Kings, xvii., 17. But this opinion, that these people are of the race of the Israelites, doth not greatly obtain. But surely it is not impossible, and perhaps not so improbable, as many learned men think.

Secondly, another apprehension is, that the original of these Americans is from the Tartars, or Scythians, that live in the north-east parts of Asia ; which some good geographers conceive is nearly joined unto the north-west parts of America, and possibly are one continent, or at least separated but by some narrow gulf ; and from this beginning have spread themselves into the several parts of the North and South America ; and because the southern parts were more fertile, and free from the cold winters incident to the northern regions, hence the southern parts became first planted, and most populous and rich. This opinion gained more credit than the former, because the people of America are not altogether unlike in color, shape, and manners, unto the Scythian people, and in regard that such a land travel is more feasible and probable than a voyage by sea so great a distance, as is before expressed, from other inhabited places, either in Europe, Asia, or Africa ; especially so long since, when we hear of no sailing out of sight of land, before the use of the loadstone and compass was found. But if this people be sprung from the Tartarian or Scythian people, as this notion asserts, then it is to me a question, why they did not attend the known practice of that people ; who, in all their removes and plantations,

take with them their kine, sheep, horses, and camels, and the like tame beasts ; which that people keep in great numbers, and drive with them in all their removes. But of these sorts and kinds of beasts used by the Tartars, none were found in America among the Indians. This question or objection is answered by some thus : First, possibly the first people were banished for some notorious offences ; and so not permitted to take with them of these tame beasts. Or, secondly, possibly, the gulf, or passage, between Asia and America, though narrow, comparatively, is yet too broad to waft over any of those sort of creatures ; and yet possibly men and women might pass over it in canoes made of hollow trees, or with barks of trees, wherein, it is known, the Indians will transport themselves, wives and children, over lakes and gulfs, very considerable for breadth. I have known some to pass with like vessels forty miles across an arm of the sea.

But before I pass to another thing, suppose it should be so, that the origination of the Americans came from Asia, by the north-west of America, where the continents are conceived to meet very near, which indeed is an opinion very probable ; yet this doth not hinder the truth of the first conjecture, that this people may be of the race of the ten tribes of Israel : for the king of Assyria who led them captive, as we heard before, transported them into Asia, and placed them in several provinces and cities, as in II. Kings, xvii. 6. Now possibly, in process of time, this people, or at least some considerable number of them, whose custom and manner it was to keep themselves distinct from the other nations they

lived amongst ; and did commonly intermarry only with their own people ; and also their religion being so different from the heathen, unto whom they were generally an abomination, as they were to the Egyptians ; and also partly from God's judgment following them for their sins : I say, it is not impossible but a considerable number of them might withdraw themselves ; and so pass gradually into the extreme parts of the continent of Asia ; and wherever they came, being disrelished by the heathen, might for their own security pass further and further, till they found America ; which being unpeopled, there they found some rest ; and so, in many hundred of years, spread themselves in America in that thin manner, as they were found there, especially in the northern parts of it ; which country is able to contain and accommodate millions of mankind more than were found in it. And for their speech, which is not only different among themselves, but from the Hebrew, that might easily be lost by their often removes, or God's judgment.

A third conjecture of the original of these Indians, is, that some of the tawny Moors of Africa, inhabiting upon the sea coasts, in times of war and contention among themselves, have put off to sea, and been transported over, in such small vessels as those times afforded, unto the south part of America, where the two continents of Africa and America are nearest ; and they could not have opportunity or advantage to carry with the small vessels of those times any tame beasts, such as were in that country. Some reasons are given for this notion. First, because the Americans are much like the Moors of Africa. Secondly, the seas between the tropics are easy to pass, and safe

for small vessels ; the winds in those parts blowing from the east to the west, and the current setting the same course. Thirdly, because it is most probable, that the inhabitants of America first came into the south parts ; where were found the greatest numbers of people, and the most considerable cities and riches.

But these, or any other notions, can amount to no more than rational conjecture ; for a certainty of their first extraction cannot be attained ; for they being ignorant of letters and records of antiquity, as the Europeans, Africans, and sundry of the Asians, are and have been, hence any true knowledge of their ancestors is utterly lost among them. I have discoursed and questioned about this matter with some of the most judicious of the Indians, but their answers are divers and fabulous. Some of the inland Indians say, that they came from such as inhabit the sea-coasts. Others say, that there were two young squaws, or women, being at first either swimming or wading in the water ; the froth or foam of the water touched their bodies, from whence they became with child ; and one of them brought forth a male ; and the other a female child ; and then the two women died and left the earth : So their son and daughter were their first progenitors. Other fables and figments are among them touching this thing, which are not worthy to be inserted. These only may suffice to give a taste of their great ignorance touching their original ; the full determination whereof must be left until the day, wherein all secret and hidden things shall be manifested to the glory of God.

But this may upon sure grounds be asserted, that they are Adam's posterity, and consequently children

of wrath ; and hence are not only objects of all christians' pity and compassion, but subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavours should be put forth to reduce them from barbarism to civility ; but especially to rescue them out of the bondage of Satan, and bring them to salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ ; which is the main scope and design of this tractate.

THE GRATITUDE OF HIACOOMES.

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. III.]

IN this strait, several of their carnal and unconverted kindred and relations applied themselves unto Hiacoomes and his wife, [who was in a delicate condition and dangerously ill] pressing them to send for a powow, and use that help for relief. But both husband and wife utterly refused their temptation ; the man being willing to submit to God's disposal, and lose his wife, though he loved her dearly, rather than take assistance from the devil and his instruments, whom he had renounced ; and the woman, who was the sufferer, yet, through the grace of God, was endowed with such christian fortitude, that she also utterly refused this method for her deliverance, and would rather lose her life than seek help that way. In this exigence, they earnestly cried to God in prayer, to show mercy to them for Jesus Christ's sake ; imploring also the prayers of Mr. Thomas Mayhew, junior, their teacher, and other English christians, living nigh them. Mr. Mayhew, being

affected with the case, got together some godly christians to meet together ; and those kept a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the help of God for these poor, distressed, christian Indians. And the Lord was graciously pleased to hear and answer their prayers, and shortly after gave the woman safe deliverance of a daughter ; which the father named by a word in the Indian language, which signified in English, Return. When Mr. Mayhew, the minister, understood this, he demanded of Hiacoomes the reason, why he gave his daughter that name ; whose answer was to this effect : Sir, said he, a little while since, you know, I and my wife and children, were travelling on apace in the broad way to hell and all misery, and going from God ; but now, since you preached to us, I, and my wife and children, are, through God's grace, *returning* back the contrary way, with our faces set towards God, heaven, and happiness. Secondly, you know, before my wife was delivered of this child, how great peril of life she was in, and God seemed to be very angry with us ; but he was intreated and heard our prayers, and is *returned* to us with mercies, in my wife's safe deliverance of this daughter. And for these two reasons, I call this child Return. This story is most certainly true ; and was told me distinctly by Mr. Thomas Mayhew, junior, their minister, Hiacoomes being present, in travelling on foot between Watertown lecture and Cambridge, the Indian that was the principal person concerned being with him. . . .

CONCERNING “CHOICE INDIAN
YOUTHS.”

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. V.]

THERE was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good ; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen ; where some of them are improved for school-masters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings : as one is a mariner ; another, a carpenter ; another went for England with a gentleman, that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New England, named Mr. Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died there not many months after his arrival.

I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the college at Cambridge ; the one named Joel, the other, Caleb ; both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning, that he should, within a few months, have taken his first degree of bachelor of art in the college. He took a voyage to Martha's

Vineyard to visit his father and kindred, a little before the commencement ; but upon his return back in a vessel, with other passengers and mariners, suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket ; where the bark was found put on shore ; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murdered by some wicked Indians of that place ; who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it ; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards. Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge. I knew him well ; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word ; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures ; grave and sober in his conversation.

The other called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art at Cambridge in New England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health ; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physic ; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days.

Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians ; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issu-

ing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them. I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies ; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen.

These awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen, concurring with some other severe dispensations of God obstructive to this work, — some whereof may be hereafter mentioned, — caused great thoughts of heart unto the well-willers and promoters thereof. Some conceived, God was not pleased yet to make use of any of the Indians to preach the Gospel ; and that the time of the great harvest of their ingathering is not yet come, but will follow after the calling of the Jews. Others thought that this honor of their instruction and conversion shall be continued with Englishmen. Others were of opinion, that Satan, the great enemy and opposer of men's salvation, who had for many years held these poor barbarians under his dominion, did use all his stratagems and endeavors to impede the spreading of the Christian faith, that he might the better keep possession of his kingdom among them. But others, whose faith I hope in God was active and vigorous, did conclude that there was nothing more in these providences and remoras, than did usually attend and accompany all good designs, tending to the glory of God and salvation of souls ; whereof plentiful examples are recorded in Holy Scriptures, especially

in the primitive times ; which in several chapters of the Acts of the Apostles may be demonstrated. . . .

WANNALANCET'S CANOE.

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. VII.]

MAY 5th, 1674, according to our usual custom, Mr. Eliot and myself took our journey to Wamesit, or Pawtuckett ; and arriving there that evening, Mr. Eliot preached to as many of them as could be got together, out of Mat. xxii. 1-14, the parable of the marriage of the King's son. We met at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtuckett Falls, and bordering upon Merrimac River. This person, Wannalancet, is the eldest son of old Pasaconaway, the chiefest sachem of Pawtuckett. He is a sober and grave person, and of years, between fifty and sixty. He hath been always loving and friendly to the English. Many endeavors have been used several years to gain this sachem to embrace the Christian religion ; but he hath stood off from time to time, and not yielded up himself personally, though for four years past he hath been willing to hear the word of God preached, and to keep the Sabbath. A great reason that hath kept him off, I conceive, hath been the indisposition and averseness of sundry of his chief men and relations to pray to God ; which he foresaw would desert him, in case he turned Christian. But at this time, May 6th, 1674, it pleased God so to influence and overcome his heart, that it being proposed to him

to give his answer concerning praying to God, after some deliberation and serious pause he stood up, and made a speech to this effect : —

“Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge,” said he, “I have, all my days, used to pass in an old canoe” (alluding to his frequent custom to pass in a canoe upon the river), “and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling : but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter.”

This his professed subjection was well pleasing to all that were present, of which there were some English persons of quality ; as Mr. Richard Daniel, a gentleman that lived in Billerica, about six miles off : and Lieutenant Henchman, a neighbor at Chelmsford ; besides brother Eliot and myself, with sundry others, English and Indians. Mr. Daniel before named desired brother Eliot to tell this sachem from him, that it may be, while he went in his old canoe, he passed in a quiet stream : but the end thereof was death and destruction to soul and body. But now he went into a new canoe, perhaps he would meet with storms and trials ; but yet he should be encouraged to persevere, for the end of his voyage would be everlasting rest. Moreover he and his people were exhorted by brother Eliot and myself to go on and sanctify the Sabbath, to hear the Word, and use the

means that God hath appointed, and encourage their hearts in the Lord their God. Since that time I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a constant and diligent hearer of God's Word, and sanctifieth the Sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every Sabbath, which is above two miles ; and though sundry of his people have deserted him, since he subjected to the Gospel, yet he continues and persists.

ONE OF GOD'S ENDS.

[FROM "AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DOINGS
AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS."]

4THLY. Doubtless one great end God aimed at was the punishment and destruction of many of the wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full ; the last period whereof was their malignant opposition to the offers of the Gospel, for the Pakanahats and the Narragansetts, those two great nations upon whom the dint of war hath most especially fallen, (for they are almost totally destroyed), had once and again the Gospel offered to them. But their chief Sachems malignantly rejected and opposed it, and consequently the people followed their examples. And notwithstanding they were very conversant among the English, especially the Narragansetts, and commendable for their industry and labor among the English, yet had the most of them no hearing ears unto the glad tidings of salvation offered in the Gospel, and very few of them delighted in communion with the Christian Indians. And here I shall insert a matter of

remark. After the war began with Philip, the English, having cause to be suspicious of the Narragansetts sent some soldiers to Mr. Smith's of Wickford, that lived near them, designing thereby to put upon them a necessity to declare themselves friends or enemies, and to push upon them the performances of former articles of agreement between the English and them, at which time, being in July, 1675, they complied to a treaty of continuing in peace and friendship with the English. But among other articles, the Narragansetts, by their agent Potuche, urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel or call upon them to pray to God. But, the English refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn, and a peace concluded for that time. In this act they declared what their hearts were, viz. to reject Christ and his grace offered to them before. But the Lord Jesus, before the expiration of 18 months destroyed the body of the Narragansett nation, that would not have him to reign over them, particularly all their chief Sachems and this Potuche, a chief councillor and subtle fellow, who was taken at Rhode Island, coming voluntarily there, and afterward sent to Boston and there executed.

THE WILES OF THE INDIANS.

[FROM THE SAME.]

. . . THE English at first thought easily to chastise the insolent doings and murderous practices of the heathen. But it was found another manner of thing

than was expected ; for our men could see no enemy to shoot at, but yet felt their bullets out of the thick bushes where they lay in ambushments. The enemy also used this stratagem, to apparel themselves from the waist upwards with green boughs, that our Englishmen could not readily discern them, or distinguish them from the natural bushes ; this manner of fighting our men had little experience of, and hence were under great disadvantages. The English wanted not courage or resolution, but could not discern or find an enemy to fight with, yet were galled by the enemy. The Council, having advice hereof from the commanders of the army, judged it very necessary to arm and send forth some of the Praying Indians to assist our forces, hereby not only to try their fidelity, but to deal the better with the enemy in their own ways and methods, according to the Indian manner of fighting, wherein our Indians were well skilled, and had our [their] counsel practiced, and also to be as scouts and forlorns to the English ; for the Indians generally excel in a quick and strong sight for the discovery of any thing ; and then they have a very accurate sagacity in discovering the tracks of man or beast. And also they are subtle and wily to accomplish their enterprise, especially they keep a deep silence in their marches and motions, whereas the English are more prone to talk to one another and make a noise, whereby the enemy, discovering them before they come near, either prepare for them, or take their flight, as is most for their advantage. And here I shall take leave, as a parenthesis, to insert a short and true story of an Indian chief, captain under Uncas, who marching in this war as scout with some

English soldiers, of Connecticut, one of the English soldiers had on a new pair of shoes that made a creaking noise as they travelled. The Indian captain was not quiet until he had persuaded the fellow with creaking shoes to take his moccasins and wear them, and the Indian carried the Englishman's shoes at his back, and went himself barefoot. Another English soldier had on a pair of leather breeches, which being dry made a rustling noise ; the Indian captain was not satisfied until he had persuaded the man to take off his breeches, or else to wet them in the water to prevent their rustling. By this relation, which is a truth, we may observe how circumspect and careful they are in order to obtain advantage of their enemy.

DEFENCE OF THE INDIANS.

[FROM THE SAME.]

NOTWITHSTANDING the Council's endeavors in the former orders, and the testimony of these English witnesses on behalf of the Christian Indians, yet the clamors and animosity among the common people increased daily, not only against those Indians, but also all such English as were judged to be charitable to them. And particularly, many harsh reflections and speeches were uttered against Major Daniel Gookin, and Mr. John Eliot, the former of whom had been appointed by the authority of the General Court of Massachusetts, and approbation of the Honorable Governor and Corporation for Gospelizing those Indians, to rule and govern those Indians

about twenty years, and the latter had been their teacher and minister about thirty years, as if they did support and protect those Indians against the English ; whereas (God knows) there was no ground for such an imputation, but was a device and contrivance of Satan and his instruments, to hinder and subvert the work of religion among the Indians ; for neither had any of our Christian Indians been justly charged, either with unfaithfulness, or treachery towards the English, since the war begun (that I know of). But on the contrary, some of them had discovered the treachery, particularly Walcut the ruler . . . of Philip, before he began any act of hostility, as is before mentioned, and since the war have served the English faithfully, but yet must be content to receive such retribution from too many, (at whose hands they have deserved other things,) but now both the Christian Indians, and all that favored them are enemies to the English, and ought to be proceeded against accordingly, if some men might have had their wills, so great was the rage and unreasonable prejudice of many at the time. It might rationally have been considered, that those two persons above named, who had (one of them for above twenty years, and the other about thirty years,) been acquainted with, and conversant among those Christian Indians, should have more knowledge and experience of them than others had, and consequently should be able to speak more particularly concerning such of those Indians whom they knew (according to a judgment of charity) to be honest and pious persons. And if at such a time, they should have been wholly silent and remiss in giving a modest testimony concerning them when called there-

unto, God might justly have charged it upon them, as a sin and neglect of their duty, had they for fear declined to witness the truth for Christ, and for these his poor distressed servants, some of the Christian Indians. And in this day of Massah and Meribah, some that have the repute and I hope truly godly men, were so far gone with the temptation, that they accounted it a crime in any man to say that they hoped some of those Indians were pious persons, or that they had grounds of persuasion that such and such would be saved. This cruel frame of spirit (for I can give it no gentler denomination) arose I apprehend from a double ground, first, the malice of Satan against Christ's work among those Indians and to hinder their progress in religion: for they finding Englishmen, professing the Christian religion, so enraged against them, and injurious to them without cause, as they well knew in their own consciences, whatever others thought or spake to the contrary, this was a sore temptation to such weak ones and little children as it were in the ways of Christianity, and hereby to incline them to apostasy, and if the devil by this stratagem could have prevailed, then the whole work of Christ among them, so spoken of, blessed and owned by the Lord, would have been utterly overthrown: this would have gratified Satan and his instruments greatly.

THOMAS WHEELER.

THOMAS WHEELER, a New England soldier and annalist, was born in England about 1620, and died at Concord, Massachusetts, in 1686, having settled there soon after his emigration in 1642. He took part in King Philip's War, and was appointed, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in July, 1675, military escort to Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston, who had been commissioned by the Colonial Council to treat with the Indian Sachems in the Nipnuck country. King Philip, jealous of the encroachments of English settlers upon his hunting grounds, had begun his aggressions in the preceding month. He succeeded in combining nearly all the Indians of New England against the invaders, and the expedition of Hutchinson failed, the latter with twenty men being waylaid and slain at Brookfield on the 2nd of August. Wheeler's narrative of this expedition exhibits him as a faithful soldier of the Colony and of the God of the Puritans, but as a writer endowed with no gifts of literary expression. Yet his tract, as the half of it we give shows, is not without a certain savory interest from the very quaintness of its phraseology. It was first published in 1676. In 1827 it appeared in the second volume of the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*.

A TRUE NARRATIVE.

OF THE LORD'S PROVIDENCES IN VARIOUS DISPENSATIONS TOWARDS CAPTAIN EDWARD HUTCHINSON OF BOSTON AND MYSELF, AND THOSE THAT WENT WITH US INTO THE NIPMUCK COUNTRY, AND ALSO TO QUABAUG, ALIAS BROOKFIELD: THE SAID CAPTAIN HUTCHINSON HAVING A COMMISSION FROM THE HONORED COUNCIL OF THIS COLONY TO TREAT WITH SEVERAL SACHEMS IN THOSE PARTS IN ORDER TO THE PUBLIC PEACE, AND MYSELF BEING ORDERED BY THE SAID COUNCIL TO ACCOMPANY HIM WITH PART OF MY TROOP FOR SECURITY FROM ANY DANGER THAT MIGHT BE FROM THE INDIANS: AND TO ASSIST HIM IN THE TRANSACTION OF MATTERS COMMITTED TO HIM.

THE said Captain Hutchinson and myself with about twenty men or more marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28th, '75, and from thence into the Nipmuck country, and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within twenty miles of New Norwich, on July 31st (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they fled from us and left their horse, which we took). We then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day (being August 1st), we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north-west from us, we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm

them, but our business was only to deliver a message from our honored Governor and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a treaty of peace with them (though they had for several days fled from us), they having before professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English.

When the messengers came to them, they made an alarm and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men, as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were stout in their speeches and surly in their carriage. But at length three of the chief sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about eight of the clock, upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield, with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a clear call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that town marched to the plain appointed ; but the treacherous heathen intending mischief (if they could have opportunity) came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson and myself with the rest of our company considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them, or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly persuaded of their freedom from any ill intentions towards us (as upon other grounds, so

especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English), that the said Captain Hutchinson, who was principally instructed with the matter of treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a swamp where the Indians then were.

When we came near the said swamp, the way was so very bad that we could march only in single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand and a thick swamp on the left, in which there were many of those cruel bloodthirsty heathen, who there waylaid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprise us. When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a shower of hail, they being, as was supposed, about two hundred men or more. We seeing ourselves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavored to fly for the safety of our lives. In which flight we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us, into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards; and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of our enemies who lay behind the bushes and had let us pass by them quietly, when others had shot, they came out and stopt our way back; — so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill. But the greater our danger was, the greater was God's mercy in the preservation of so many from sudden destruction. Myself being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by

the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling on my men who were left to accompany me, which they in all probability would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp, and from behind the bushes on the hillside, wounded me sorely and shot my horse under me, so that he faltering and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered, returned towards the swamp again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins ; where he saw me in the danger aforesaid. Whereupon he endeavored to rescue me, showing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress ; there being many of the enemies about him. My son set me on his own horse, and so escaped awhile on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm.

There were then slain to our grief eight men. . . . There were also then five persons wounded, viz., Captain Hutchinson, myself and my son Thomas as aforesaid, Corporal French of Billericay, who having killed an Indian was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder. The fifth was John Waldoe of Chelmsford who was not so dangerously wounded as the rest.

They also then killed five of our horses and wounded some more, which soon died after they came to Brookfield. Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us (wherein we desire to look higher than man, the instrument) we return to the town as fast as the badness of the way and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it. All the while we were going we durst not stay to staunch the bleeding of our wounded men for fear the enemy should have surprised us again, which they attempted to do, and had in probability done, but that we perceiving which way they went, wheeled off to the other hand, and so by God's good Providence towards us, they missed us ; and we all came readily upon, and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it, those of the place being slain as aforesaid, and we avoiding any thick woods and riding in open places to prevent danger by them. Being got to the town we speedily betook ourselves to one of the largest and strongest houses therein, where we fortified ourselves in the best manner we could in such straits of time, and there resolved to keep garrison, though we were but few, and meanly fitted to make resistance against so many enemies. The news of the Indians' treacherous dealing with us, and the loss of so many of our company thereby, did so amaze the inhabitants of the town, that they being informed thereof by us presently left their houses, divers of them carrying very little away with them, they being afraid of the Indians' sudden coming upon them : and so came to the house we were entered into, very meanly provided of clothing or furnished with provisions.

I perceiving myself to be disenabled for the discharge of the duties of my place by reason of the wound I had received, and apprehending that the enemy would soon come to spoil the town and assault us in the house, I appointed Simon Davis of Concord, James Richardson and John Fiske of Chelmsford to manage affairs for our safety with those few men whom God hath left us, and were fit for any service, and the inhabitants of the said town, — who did well and commendably perform the duties of the trust committed to them, with much courage and resolution, through the assistance of our gracious God, who did not leave us in our low and distressed state, but did mercifully appear for us in our greatest need as in the sequel will clearly be manifested.

Within two hours after our coming to the said house, or less, the said Captain Hutchinson and myself posted away Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury and Henry Young of Concord to go to the honored Council at Boston to give them an account of the Lord's dealings with us and our present condition. When they came to the further end of the town they saw the enemy rifling of houses which the inhabitants had forsaken. The post fired upon them and immediately returned to us again, they discerning no safety in going forward, and being desirous to inform us of the enemies' actings, that we might the more prepare for a sudden assault by them. Which indeed presently followed, for as soon as the said post was come back to us, the barbarous heathen pressed upon us in the house with great violence, sending in their shot amongst us like hail through the walls, and shouting as if they would have swallowed us up alive; but

our good God wrought wonderfully for us, so that there was but one man wounded within the house, viz., the said Henry Young who, looking out at a garret window that evening, was mortally wounded by a shot, of which wound he died within two days after. There was the same day another man slain, but not in the house. A son of Sergeant Prichard's, adventuring out of the house wherein we were to his father's house not far from it, to fetch more goods out of it, was caught by those cruel enemies as they were coming towards us, who cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball, and then putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his father's house, in our sight.

The night following the said blow, they did roar against us like so many wild bulls, sending in their shot amongst us till towards the moon-rising, which was about three of the clock ; at which time they attempted to fire our house by hay and other combustible matter which they brought to one corner of the house and set it on fire. Whereupon some of our company were necessitated to expose themselves to very great danger to put it out. Simon Davis, one of the three appointed by myself as Captain, to supply my place by reason of my wounds as aforesaid, he, being of a lively spirit, encouraged the soldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians ; and also those that adventured to put out the fire (which began to rage and kindle upon the house side) with these and the like words, that " God is with us and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these heathen," — which expressions of his the Indians hearing, they shouted and scoffed, saying : " Now

see how your God delivers you,” or “will deliver you,” sending in many shots whilst our men were putting out the fire. But the Lord of Hosts wrought very graciously for us, in preserving our bodies both within and without the house from their shot, and our house from being consumed by fire. We had but two men wounded in that attempt of theirs, but we apprehended that we killed divers of our enemies. . . .

The next day being August 3d they continued shooting and shouting, and proceeded in their former wickedness, blaspheming the name of the Lord and reproaching us, his afflicted servants, scoffing at our prayers as they were sending in their shot upon all quarters of the house. And many of them went to the town's meeting-house, which was within twenty rods of the house in which we were, who mocked, saying : “Come and pray and sing psalms,” and in contempt made an hideous noise somewhat resembling singing. But we to our power did endeavor our own defence, sending our shot amongst them, the Lord giving us courage to resist them, and preserving us from the destruction they sought to bring upon us. On the evening following we saw our enemies carrying several of their dead or wounded men on their backs, who proceeded that night to send in their shot as they had done the night before, and also still shouted as if the day had been certainly theirs, and they should without fail have prevailed against us ; which they might have the more hopes of in regard that we discerned the coming of new companies to them to assist and strengthen them, and the unlikelihood of any coming to our help.

They also used several stratagems to fire us,

namely, by “wild fire” in cotton and linen rags with brimstone in them, which rags they tied to the piles of their arrows, sharp for the purpose, and shot them to the roof of our house, after they had set them on fire ; which would have much endangered the burning thereof had we not used means, by cutting holes through the roof and otherwise, to beat the said arrows down, and God being pleased to prosper our endeavors therein. They carried more combustible matter, as flax and hay, to the sides of the house and set it on fire, and then flocked apace towards the door of the house, either to prevent our going forth to quench the fire as we had done before, or to kill our men in their attempt to go forth ; or else to break into the house by the door. Whereupon we were forced to break down the wall of the house against the fire to put it out. They also shot a ball of “wild fire” into the garret of the house, which fell amongst a great heap of flax or tow therein ; which one of our soldiers through God’s good Providence soon espied, and having water ready, presently quenched it. And so we were preserved by the Keeper of Israel, both our bodies from their shot, which they sent thick against us, and the house from being consumed to ashes, although we were but weak to defend ourselves ; we being not above twenty and six men with those of that small town who were able for any service, and our enemies, as I judged them, about (if not above) three hundred. . . .

On Wednesday, August the fourth, the Indians fortified themselves at the meeting-house, and the barn belonging to our house, which they fortified both at the great doors at both ends with posts,

rails, boards, and hay to save themselves from our shot. They also devised other stratagems to fire our house on the night following, namely, they took a cart, and filled it with flax, hay and candlewood, and other combustible matter, and set up planks fastened to the cart to save themselves from the danger of our shot. Another invention they had, to make the more sure work in burning the house : They got many poles of a considerable length and bigness and spliced them together at the ends one of another, and made a carriage of them about fourteen rods long, setting the poles in two rows with piles laid cross over them at the front end, and dividing them, said poles, about three foot asunder, and in the said front of this their carriage they set a barrel, having made an hole through both heads, and put an axle-tree through them, to which they fastened the said poles, and under every joint of the poles where they were spliced, they set up a pair of truckle wheels to bear up the said carriages ; and they loaded the front or fore-end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flax, and chips, etc. Two of these instruments they prepared, that they might convey fire to the house with the more safety to themselves, they standing at such a distance from our shot whilst they wheeled them to the house. Great store of arrows they had also prepared to shoot fire upon the house that night ; which we found after they were gone, they having left them there. But the Lord who is a present help in times of trouble, and is pleased to make his people's extremity his opportunity, did graciously prevent them of effecting what they hoped they should have done by the

aforesaid devices ; partly by sending a shower of rain in season, whereby the matter prepared being wet would not so easily take fire as it otherwise would have done, and partly by aid coming to our help. For our danger would have been very great that night, had not the only wise God (blessed forever) been pleased to send to us about an hour within night the worshipful Major Willard, with Captain Parker of Groton and forty-six men more with five Indians, to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought.

Our eyes were unto Him the Holy One of Israel ; in Him we desired to place our trust. . . . And God who comforteth the afflicted, as He comforted the holy Apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him, so He greatly comforted us, his distressed servants, both soldiers and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honored Major and those with him. In whose so soon coming to us the good Providence of God did marvellously appear. For the help that came to us by the honored Council's order, after the tidings they received by our post sent to them, came not to us till Saturday, August 7th, in the afternoon, nor sooner could it well come in regard of their distance from us, *i.e.*, if we had not had help before that time, we see not how we could have held out, the number of the Indians so increasing, and they making so many assaults upon us, that our ammunition before that time would have been spent and ourselves disenabled for any resistance, we being but few, and always fain to stand upon our defence, that we had little time for refreshment of ourselves either by food or sleep.

PETER FOLGER.

PETER FOLGER, whose name as a New England poet is embalmed in Franklin's Autobiography, was born in England, 1617, and died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, in 1690. He emigrated to New England in 1635, and settled first in Watertown, then in Martha's Vineyard, as teacher, surveyor, and assistant to the Indian missionary, Thomas Mayhew. He afterward became a Baptist, and moved in 1663 to Nantucket, where he served as surveyor and interpreter, and for a time, as clerk of the courts. Cotton Mather says that he was pious and learned. His chief poem, *A Looking Glass for the Times, or the Former Spirit of New England Revived in this Generation* (1675), is described by Franklin as having been "written with manly freedom and a pleasing simplicity agreeably to the taste of the times and the country." The author addresses himself to the Governors of the Colonies, speaks for liberty of conscience, and in favor of the toleration of sects, among them the Quakers and Anabaptists, who had suffered persecution. Folger was far from being a poet, but he was a man of sound sense, and some of the stanzas which we reproduce have not lost their point or their application to-day.

A DENUNCIATION OF WAR.

If that the peace of God did rule,
with power in our heart,
Then outward war would flee away,
and rest would be our part.

If we do love our brethren,
and do to them, I say,
As we would they should do to us,
we should be quiet straightway.

But if that we a smiting go,
of fellow-servants so,
No marvel if our wars increase
and things so heavy go.

'Tis like that some may think and say
our war would not remain,
If so be that a thousand more
of natives were but slain.

Alas ! these are but foolish thoughts,
God can make more arise,
And if that there were none at all,
he can make war with flies.

It is the presence of the Lord,
must make our foes to shake,
Or else it's like he will ere long
know how to make us quake.

Let us lie low before the Lord,
in all humility,
And then we shall with Asa see
our enemies to fly.

But if that we do leave the Lord,
and trust in fleshly arm,
Then 'tis no wonder if that we
do hear more news of harm.

Let's have our faith and hope in God,
and trust in him alone,
And then no doubt this storm of war
it quickly will be gone.

Thus, reader, I, in love to all,
leave these few lines with thee,
Hoping that in the substance we
shall very well agree.

If that you do mistake the verse
for its uncomely dress,
I tell thee true, I never thought
that it would pass the press.

If any at the matter kick,
it's like he's galled at heart,
And that's the reason why he kicks,
because he finds it smart.

I am for peace, and not for war,
and that's the reason why
I write more plain than some men do,
that use to daub and lie.

But I shall cease and set my name
to what I here insert,
Because to be a libeller,
I hate it with my heart.

From Sherbon town, where now I dwell,
my name I do put here,
Without offence your real friend,
it is PETER FOLGER.

WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, introduces us to a new centre of literary activity, Philadelphia, where the progress of education and culture, though later in its beginning, was more rapid than in New England. It was but a few years after its foundation that it counted among its citizens men of broad culture and of European reputation. Logan, Bartram, Rittenhouse, and Godfrey do not belong directly to our subject; all the more then is it fitting to pay tribute to him whose liberal mind gave their genius scope in the infant colony. Penn was born in London, 1644, and died in Ruscombe, Berks, in 1718. But though he began, ended, and indeed passed a great part of his life in England, he is identified almost entirely with America. The son of an admiral, he was educated first in London, then in Ireland, then at Oxford, where he became conspicuous as a follower of the Quaker Fox, and was expelled from the University. He completed his education in France, travelling, mingling in fashionable society, and then serving on his father's staff till, in 1665, the London plague revived his religious fervor. While managing the family estates in Ireland in 1667, he openly espoused Quakerism. Recalled to England and estranged from his family, he preached and wrote on religious subjects. Being

harassed by the police and once imprisoned, he began to take much interest in colonization, and having inherited a large property, sent several shiploads of immigrants to America, where he finally accepted a patent of land in lieu of money, some eighty thousand dollars, due from the Government to his father. This was in 1681. In September, 1682, Penn took formal possession of his new territory, purchasing from the Swedes the site of Philadelphia, negotiating honorable treaties with the Indians, providing his colonists a liberal scheme of government, and leaving seven thousand of them behind on his return to England in 1684. He again visited America in 1699, and soon restored peace and order to a colony much vexed by the results of the Revolution of 1688. He showed himself a wise reformer, making new treaties with the Indians, and ameliorating the condition of the negroes. He returned to England in 1701. His later years were troubled by imprisonment, for conscience' sake, by the disgraceful conduct of his son, by business misadventures, and failing health. For the last six years of his life he was a helpless invalid. The simple dignity of his character, and the high ideals that he had for the colony appear in the letters that follow.

LETTER TO RICHARD TURNER.

DEAR FRIEND: My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear friends that love Lord's precious truths in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know, that after many writings, watchings,

soliciting, and disputes in Council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania : a name the King would give it, in honor to my father. I chose New Wales, being as this a pretty healthy country ; but Penn being Welch for a head, as Penmanmore in Wales, Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head wood land ; for I proposed, when the Secretary a Welchman, refused to have it called New Wales, Sylvania, and they added Penn to it : and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered ; he said it was passed, and he would take it upon him — nor could twenty guineas move the under Secretary to vary the name ; for I feared, lest it should be looked upon as a vanity in me, and not as a respect to my father, who he often mentioned with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect my proposals : it is a clear and just thing ; and my God that has given it me, through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the truth.

W. PENN.

1st Month 5th. 1681.

LETTER TO THE INDIANS.

MY FRIENDS, There is a Great God and Power, that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being ; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world. This Great God hath written his Law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief unto one another. Now this Great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein ; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends ; else what would the Great God do to us ? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have you well observe that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble unto you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the Great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peace-

able life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly ; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters ; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. — Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

I am your loving friend,

W. PENN.

London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR HINCKLEY.

RESPECTED FRIEND, The duty and decency of my station as a Governour, as well as mine own inclination, oblige me to begin and observe a kind and friendly correspondence with persons in the like capacity under the same imperial authority. This single consideration is inducement enough to this Salute, and I have no reason to doubt its acceptance, because such an intercourse is recommended both by the laws of Christianity and those of civil policy ; which said, Give me leave to wish thee and the people

under thy conduct all true felicity, and to assure thee that with God's assistance I shall herein endeavour to acquit and behave myself worthy of the title and character of

Thy Real Friend
and Loving Neighbour,
WM. PENN.

Philadelphia, the 2 of the ^{mo}₅ 1683.

I take the freedom to present thee with a book.
For my well-respected Friend
the Governour
of Plymouth Colony
New England.

DANIEL DENTON.

OF Daniel Denton, the author of *A Brief Description of New York*, published in 1670, the first account in English of the city and colony that were to become the metropolis of a hemisphere, little is known save that he settled in Jamaica, Long Island, in 1656, being one of the founders of that town, and a resident there for many years. He was obviously a close and shrewd observer, but with little grace of style, and somewhat devoid of a sense either of humor or of irony as is shown by his remark about the Divine Hand making a way for the English by removing the Indians wherever they came to settle. Yet his very matter of fact statements are hardly less interesting for their inartistic uncouthness.

A TERRESTRIAL CANAAN.

[FROM "A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF NEW YORK."
1670.]

NEW YORK is built most of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile, and the land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to the spectators. The inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with the Indians, for beavers, otters, raccoon skins, with other

furs ; as also for bear, deer, and elk skins ; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter and fish in the summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate ; and having the country round about them, they are continually furnished with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

The commodities vented from thence is furs and skins before-mentioned ; as likewise tobacco made within the Colony, as good as is usually made in Mary-land ; also horses, beef, pork, oil, pease, wheat, and the like.

Long Island, the west end of which lies southward of New York, runs eastward above one hundred miles, and is in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad. It is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end is four or five Dutch towns, the rest being all English, to the number of twelve, besides villages and farm-houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English grain, which they sow and have very good increase of, besides all other fruits and herbs common in England ; as also tobacco, hemp, flax, pumpkins, melons, etc.

For wild beasts, there is deer, bear, wolves, foxes, raccoons, otters, musquashes, and skunks. Wild fowl there is great store of, as turkeys, heath-hens, quails, partridges, pigeons, cranes, geese of several sorts, brants, ducks, widgeon, teal, and divers others. There is also the red-bird, with divers sorts of singing-birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of travellers with an harmonious discord ; and in every pond

and brook green silken frogs, who, warbling forth their untuned tunes, strive to bear a part in this music.

Towards the middle of Long Island lieth a plain sixteen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other cattle; where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the horse heels, or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest rewarded with a silver cup, two being annually procured for that purpose. There are two or three other small plains of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those towns which enjoy them.

Upon the south side of Long Island in the winter lie store of whales and crampasses, which the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade, catching to their no small benefit. Also an innumerable multitude of seals, which make an excellent oil. They lie all the winter upon some broken marshes and beaches, or bars of sand before-mentioned, and might be easily got were there some skilful men would undertake it. . . .

Within two leagues of New York lieth Staten Island. It bears from New York west something southerly. It is about twenty miles long, and four or five broad. It is most of it very good land, full of timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth, besides tin and store of iron ore; and the calamine stone is said likewise to be found there. There is but one town upon it, consisting of English and French, but is capable of entertaining more inhabitants; betwixt this and Long Island is a large bay, and is the coming in for all ships and vessels out of

the sea. On the north side of this Island Afterskull River puts into the main-land on the west side, whereof is two or three towns, but on the east side but one. There is very great marshes or meadows on both sides of it, excellent good land, and good convenience for the settling of several towns; there grows black walnut and locust, as there doth in Virginia, with mighty tall, straight timber, as good as any in the North of America. It produceth any commodity Long Island doth. . . .

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither (the country being capable of entertaining many thousands), how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, etc., — I shall answer, that the usual way is for a company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a lesser number; these go with the consent of the governor, and view a tract of land, there being choice enough, and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the governor, who upon their desire admits them into the Colony, and gives them a grant or patent for the said land, for themselves and associates. These persons being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town be full; these associates thus taken in have equal privileges with themselves, and they make a division of the land suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantities as he hath occasion for; the rest they let lie in common till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their pasture-land at all, which lies in common to the whole town. The best commodities for any to

carry with them is clothing, the country being full of all sorts of cattle, which they may furnish themselves withal at an easy rate, for any sorts of English goods, as likewise instruments for husbandry and building, with nails, hinges, glass, and the like. For the manner how they get a livelihood, it is principally by corn and cattle, which will there fetch them any commodities ; likewise they sow store of flax, which they make every one cloth of for their own wearing, as also woollen cloth and linsey-woolsey, and had they more tradesmen amongst them, they would in a little time live without the help of any other country for their clothing. For tradesmen, there is none but live happily there, as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, tanners, brickmakers, and so any other trade ; them that have no trade betake themselves to husbandry, get land of their own, and live exceeding well.

Thus have I briefly given you a relation of New York, with the places thereunto adjoyning ; in which, if I have erred, it is principally in not giving it its due commendation ; for besides those earthly blessings where it is stored, heaven hath not been wanting to open his treasure, in sending down seasonable showers upon the earth, blessing it with a sweet and pleasant air, and a continuation of such influences as tend to the health both of man and beast : and the climate hath such an affinity with that of England that it breeds ordinarily no alteration to those which remove thither ; that the name of seasoning, which is common to some other countries, hath never there been known ; that I may say, and say truly, that if there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by people of all

ranks, especially of an inferior rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with land, and live rent-free — yea, with such a quantity of land that he may weary himself with walking over his fields of corn and all sorts of grain. And let his stock of cattle amount to some hundreds, he needs not fear their want of pasture in the summer or fodder in the winter, the woods affording sufficient supply. For the summer season, where you have grass as high as a man's knees, — nay, as high as his waist, — interlaced with pea-vines and other weeds that cattle much delight in, as much as a man can press through ; and these woods also every mile or half mile are furnished with fresh ponds, brooks or rivers, where all sorts of cattle, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst and cool themselves ; these brooks and rivers being environed of each side with several sorts of trees and grape-vines, the vines, arbor-like, interchanging places and crossing these rivers, does shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of Sol's fiery influence. Here those which Fortune hath frowned upon in England, to deny them an inheritance amongst their brethren, or such as by their utmost labors can scarcely procure a living — I say such may procure here inheritances of lands and possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of cattle, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them to the benefit of their children when they die. Here you need not trouble the shambles for meat, nor bakers and brewers for beer and bread, nor run to a linen-draper for a supply, every one making their own linen and a great part of their woollen cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal, if I may so say, hath Nature

been to furnish the country with all sorts of wild beasts and fowl ! which every one hath an interest in, and may hunt at his pleasure ; where, besides the pleasure in hunting, he may furnish his house with excellent fat venison, turkeys, geese, heathens, cranes, swans, ducks, pigeons, and the like, — and wearied with that, he may go a-fishing ; where the rivers are so furnished, that he may supply himself with fish before he can leave off the recreation : — where you may travel by land upon the same continent hundreds of miles, and pass through towns and villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask you for a farthing ; where you may lodge in the fields and woods, travel from one end of the country to another, with as much security as if you were locked within your own chamber ; and if you chance to meet with an Indian town, they shall give you the best entertainment they have, and, upon your desire, direct you on your way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest, is the healthfulness of the place ; where many people in twenty years' time never know what sickness is ; where they look upon it as a great mortality if two or three die out of a town in a year's time ; where, besides the sweetness of the air, the country itself sends forth such a fragrant smell that it may be perceived at sea before they can make the land ; where no evil fog or vapor doth no sooner appear but a north-west or westerly wind doth immediately dissolve it and drive it away. What shall I say more ? You shall scarce see a house but the south side is begirt with hives of bees, which increase after an incredible manner : — That I must needs say, that if there be any terrestrial Canaan, 't is surely here,

where the land floweth with milk and honey. The inhabitants are blest with peace and plenty, blessed in their country, blessed in their fields, blessed in the fruit of their bodies, in the fruit of their grounds, in the increase of their cattle, horses, and sheep, blessed in their basket, and in their store. In a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand or go about, the earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labors.

GEORGE ALSOP

GEORGE ALSOP, the only literary representative of Maryland, included within this volume, was born in London, in 1638, and had been apparently an apprentice there before he emigrated to the colonies as an indentured servant in 1658. Little is known of his life, but it may be inferred that he was a pronounced opponent of Cromwell, for some rugged verses, scattered through his book are devoted to execration of the Lord Protector. Other outbursts of his "melancholy Muse" are of a jovial, ribald, and even occasionally obscene character, almost unique in colonial writings. But regrettable as this may be, Alsop's book is as entertaining as anything that seventeenth century America produced. It bears the quaint and somewhat cumbrous title *A Character of the Province of Maryland, also a Small Treatise on the Wild and Naked Indians or Susquebanokes of Maryland, their Customs, Manners, Absurdities, and Religion*. It is dated 1666, and has been twice republished (1869, 1880). He describes the Arcadian liberty and virtue of the province sympathetically, the Susquehanna Indians entertainingly, and his experiences during servitude graphically. His letters to his relatives in which his experiences are narrated are not models of epistolary style, but they are full of life, and by no means devoid of humor.

MARYLAND FISH.

[FROM "A CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND," LONDON, 1666, CHAP. I.]

As for fish which dwell in the watery tenements of the deep, and by a providential greatness of power, is kept for the relief of several countries in the world (which would else sink under the rigid enemy of want), here in Mary-land is a large sufficiency, and plenty of almost all sorts of fishes, which live and inhabit within her several rivers and creeks, far beyond the apprehending or crediting of those that never saw the same, and, which with very much ease is caught, to the great refreshment of the inhabitants of the province.

"OF THE GOVERNMENT AND NATURAL DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE."

[FROM THE SAME, CHAP. II.]

MARYLAND, not from the remoteness of her situation, but from the regularity of her well-ordered government, may (without sin, I think) be called *singular*: And though she is not supported with such large revenues as some of her neighbors are, yet such is her wisdom in a reserved silence, and not in pomp, to shew her well-conditioned estate, in relieving at a distance the proud poverty of those that wont be seen they want, as well as those which by undeniable ne-

cessities are drove upon the rocks of pinching wants : Yet such a loathsome creature is a common and folding-handed beggar, that upon the penalty of almost a perpetual working in imprisonment, they are not to appear, nor lurk near our vigilant and laborious dwellings. The country hath received a general spleen and antipathy against the very name and nature of it ; and though there were no law provided, (as there is) to suppress it, I am certainly confident, there is none within the Province that would lower themselves so much below the dignity of men to beg, as long as limbs and life keep house together ; so much is a vigilant industrious care esteem'd.

He that desires to see the real platform of a quiet and sober government extant, superiority with a meek and yet commanding power sitting at the helm, steering the actions of a state quietly, through the multitude and diversity of opinionous waves that diversly meet; let him look on Mary-Land with eyes admiring, and he'll then judge her, *The Miracle of this Age.*

Here the Roman Catholic, and the Protestant Episcopal, (whom the world would persuade have proclaimed open wars irrevocably against each other) contrarywise concur in an unanimous parallel of friendship, and inseparable love entailed unto one another : All inquisitions, martyrdom, and banishments are not so much as named, but unexpressibly abhorr'd by each other.

The several opinions and sects that lodge within this government, meet not together in mutinous contempts to disquiet the power that bears rule, but with a reverend quietness obeys the legal commands of authority. Here's never seen *Five Monarchies* in a

zealous rebellion, opposing the rights and liberties of a true settled government, or monarchical authority : Nor did I ever see (here in Mary-Land) any of those dancing Adamitical Sisters that plead a primitive innocence for their base obscenity and naked deportment ; but I conceive if some of them were there at some certain time of the year, between the months of January and February, when the winds blow from the north-west quarter of the world, that it would both cool, and (I believe) convert the hottest of these Zealots. . . .

And I really believe this land or government of Mary-Land may boast, that she enjoys as much quietness from disturbance of rebellious opinions, as most states or kingdoms do in the world : For here every man lives quietly, and follows his labor and employment desiredly ; and by the protection of the laws, they are supported from those molestious troubles that ever attend upon the commons of other states and kingdoms, as well as from the aquafortial operation of great and eating taxes. Here's nothing to be levied out of the granaries of corn ; but contrary-wise, by a law every domestic governor of a family is enjoined to make or cause to be made so much corn by a just limitation, as shall be sufficient for him and his family : So that by this wise and *Fanus*-like providence, the thin jawed skeleton with his starv'd carcass is never seen walking the woods of Mary-Land to affrighten children.

Once every year within this province is an assembly called, and out of every respective county (by the consent of the people) there is chosen a number of men, and to them is deliver'd up the grievances of

the country ; and they maturely debate the matters, and according to their consciences make laws for the general good of the people ; and where any former law that was made, seems and is prejudicial to the good or quietness of the land, it is repeal'd. These men that determine on these matters for the Republicque, are called Burgesses, and they commonly sit in junto about six weeks, being for the most part good ordinary householders of the several counties, which do more by a plain and honest conscience, then by artificial syllogisms drest up in gilded orations.

Here suits and trials in law seldom hold dispute two terms or courts, but according as the equity of the cause appears is brought to a period, the Temples and Grays-Inn are clear out of fashion here : Marriot would sooner get a paunch-devouring meal for nothing, then for his invading counsel. Here if the Lawyer had nothing else to maintain him but his bawling, he might button up his chops, and burn his buckram bag, or else hang it upon a pin until its antiquity had eaten it up with dirt and dust : Then with a spade, like his grandsire Adam, turn up the face of creation, purchasing his bread by the sweat of his brows, that before was got by the motionated water-works of his jaws. So contrary to the genius of the people, if not to the quiet government of the Province, that the turbulent spirit of continued and vexatious law, with all its quirks and evasions, is openly and most eagerly opposed, that might make matters either dubious, tedious, or troublesome. All other matters that would be ranging in contrary and improper spheres, (in short) are here by the power moderated, lower'd, and subdued. All villainous outrages that are com-

mitted in other states, are not so much as known here : A man may walk in the open woods as secure from being externally dissected, as in his own house or dwelling. So hateful is a robber, that if but once imagin'd to be so, he's kept at a distance, and shun'd as the pestilential noisomeness.

It is generally and very remarkably observed, That those whose lives and conversations have had no other gloss nor glory stamp'd on them in their own country, but the stigmatization of baseness, were here (by the common civilities and deportments of the inhabitants of this Province) brought to detest and loath their former actions. Here the constable hath no need of a train of Holbertees [Halberdeers], that carry more armor about them, than heart to guard him : Nor is he ever troubled to leave his feathered nest to some friendly successor, while he is placing of his lantern-horn guard at the end of some suspicious street. . . . Here's no Newgates for pilfering felons, nor Ludgates for debtors, nor any Bridewells to lash the soul of concupiscence into a chaste repentance. For as there is none of these prisons in Mary-Land, so the merits of the country deserves none, but if any be foully virtuous, he is so reserv'd in it, that he seldom or never becomes popular. Common ale-houses, (whose dwellings are the only receptacles of debauchery and baseness, and those schools that trains up youth, as well as age to ruin) in this Province there are none ; neither hath youth his swing or range in such a profuse and unbridled liberty as in other countries ; for from an ancient custom at the primitive seating of the place, the son works as well as the servant, (an excellent cure for untam'd

youth) so that before they eat their bread, they are commonly taught how to earn it ; which makes them by that time age speaks them capable of receiving that which their parents' indulgency is ready to give them, and which partly is by their own laborious industry purchased, they manage it with such a serious, grave, and watching care, as if they had been masters of families, trained up in that domestic and governing power from their cradles. These christian natives of the land, especially those of the masculine sex, are generally conveniently confident, reservedly subtle, quick in apprehending, but slow in resolving ; and where they spy profit sailing towards them with the wings of a prosperous gale, there they become much familiar. The women differ something in this point, though not much : They are extreme bashful at the first view, but after a continuance of time hath brought them acquainted, there they become discreetly familiar, and are much more talkative than men. All complemental courtships, drest up in critical rarities, are mere strangers to them, plain wit comes nearest their genius ; so that he that intends to court a Mary-Land girl, must have something more than the tautologies of a long-winded speech to carry on his design, or else he may (for aught I know) fall under the contempt of her frown, and his own windy oration.

One great part of the inhabitants of this Province are desiredly zealous, great pretenders to holiness ; and where any thing appears that carries on the frontispiece of its effigies the stamp of religion, though fundamentally never so imperfect, they are suddenly taken with it, and out of an eager desire to any thing that's new, not weighing the sure matter in the

balance of reason, are very apt to be catcht. Quakerism is the only opinion that bears the bell away : The Anabaptists have little to say here, as well as in other places, since the Ghost of John of Leyden haunts their Conventicles. The Adamite, Ranter, and Fifth-Monarchy men, Mary-Land cannot, nay will not digest within her liberal stomach such corroding morsels : So that this Province is an utter enemy to blasphemous and zealous imprecations, drain'd from the limbec of hellish and damnable spirits, as well as profuse prophaneness, that issues from the prodigality of none but crackt-brain Scots.

'Tis said the Gods lower down that chain above
 That ties both prince and subject up in love ;
 And if this fiction of the gods be true,
 Few, MARY-LAND, in this can boast but you :
 Live ever blest, and let those clouds that do
 Eclipse most states, be always lights to you ;
 And dwelling so, you may for ever be
 The only Emblem of tranquility.

“A RELATION OF THE CUSTOMS, MANNERS, ABSURDITIES, AND RELIGION OF THE SUSQUEHANOCK INDIANS IN AND NEAR MARYLAND.”

[FROM THE SAME.]

THE Indians paint upon their faces one stroke of red, another of green, another of white, and another of black, so that when they have accomplished the equipage of their countenance in this trim, they are the only Hieroglyphics and Representatives of the

Furies. Their skins are naturally white, but altered from their originals by the several dyeings of roots and barks, that they prepare and make useful to metamorphize their hides into a dark cinnamon brown. The hair of their head is black, long and harsh, but where Nature hath appointed the situation of it anywhere else, they divert it (by an ancient custom) from its growth, by pulling it up hair by hair by the root in its primitive appearance. Several of them wear divers impressions on their breasts and arms, as the picture of the Devil, bears, tigers, and panthers, which are imprinted on their several lineaments with much difficulty and pain, with an irrevocable determination of its abiding there : and this they count a badge of heroic valor, and the only ornament due to their heroes.

These Susquehanock Indians are for the most part great warriors, and seldom sleep one summer in the quiet arms of a peaceable rest, but keep (by their present power, as well as by their former conquest) the several Nations of Indians round about them in a forcible obedience and subjection.

When they determine to go upon some design that will and doth require a consideration, some six of them get into a corner, and sit in Junto ; and if thought fit, their business is made popular, and immediately put into action ; if not, they make a full stop to it, and are silently reserved.

The warlike equipage they put themselves in when they prepare for Belona's march, is with their faces, arms, and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with bears' oil, and stuck thick with swans' feathers, with a wreath or diadem of black and white beads

upon their heads, a small hatchet, instead of a cimeter, stuck in their girts behind them, and either with guns, or bows and arrows. In this posture and dress they march out from their fort, or dwelling, to the number of forty in a troop, singing (or rather howling out) the decades or warlike exploits of their ancestors, ranging the wild woods until their fury has met with an enemy worthy of their revenge. What prisoners fall into their hands by the destiny of war, they treat them very civilly while they remain with them abroad, but when they once return homewards, they then begin to dress them in the habit for death, putting on their heads and arms wreaths of beads, greasing their hair with fat, some going before, and the rest behind, at equal distance from their prisoners, bellowing in a strange and confused manner, which is a true presage and forerunner of destruction to their then conquered enemy.

As for their religion, together with their rites and ceremonies, they are so absurd and ridiculous, that it's almost a sin to name them. They own no other deity than the Devil (solid or profound), but with a kind of a wild imaginary conjecture, they suppose from their groundless conceits, that the world had a Maker, but where he is that made it, or whether he be living to this day, they know not. The Devil, as I said before, is all the God they own or worship ; and that more out of a slavish fear than any real reverence to his infernal or diabolical greatness, he forcing them to their obedience by his rough and rigid dealing with them, often appearing visibly among them to their terror, bastinadoing them (with cruel menaces) even unto death, and burning their fields of corn

and houses, that the relation thereof makes them tremble themselves when they tell it.

Once in four years they sacrifice a child to him, in an acknowledgment of their firm obedience to all his devilish powers, and hellish commands. The priests, to whom they apply themselves in matters of importance and greatest distress, are like those that attended upon the Oracle at Delphos, who by their magic spells could command a *pro* or *con* from the Devil when they pleased. These Indians oftentimes raise great tempests when they have any weighty matter or design in hand, and by blustering storms inquire of their infernal god (the Devil) how matters shall go with them either in public or private.

When any among them depart this life, they give him no other entombment than to set him upright upon his breech in a hole dug in the earth some five foot long, and three foot deep, covered over with the bark of trees archwise, with his face due west, only leaving a hole half a foot square open. They dress him in the same equipage and gallantry that he used to be trimmed in when he was alive, and so bury him (if a soldier) with his bows, arrows, and target, together with all the rest of his implements and weapons of war, with a kettle of broth, and corn standing before him, lest he should meet with bad quarters in his way. His kindred and relations follow him to the grave, sheathed in bear-skins for close mourning, with the tail droiling on the ground, in imitation of our English solemners, that think there's nothing like a tail a degree in length, to follow the dead corpse to the grave with..

TO MY FATHER AT HIS HOUSE.

SIR : — After my obedience (at so great and vast a distance) has humbly saluted you and my good mother, with the cordialest of my prayers, wishes, and desires to wait upon you, with the very best of their effectual devotion, wishing from the very centre of my soul your flourishing and well-being here upon earth, and your glorious and everlasting happiness in the world to come.

These lines (my dear parents) come from that son which by an irregular fate was removed from his native home, and after a five months dangerous passage, was landed on the remote continent of America, in the province of Mary-Land, where now by providence I reside. To give you the particulars of the several accidents that happened in our voyage by sea, it would swell a journal of some sheets, and therefore too large and tedious for a letter : I think it therefore necessary to bind up the relation in octavo, and give it you in short.

We had a blowing and dangerous passage of it, and for some days after I arrived I was an absolute *Copernicus*, it being one main point of my moral creed to believe the world had a pair of long legs, and walked with the burthen of the creation upon her back. For to tell you the very truth of it, for some days upon land, after so long and tossing a passage, I was so giddy that I could hardly tread an even step : so that all things both above and below (that was in view) appeared to me like the Kentish Britains to William the Conqueror, in a moving posture.

These few number of weeks since my arrival, has

given me but little experience to write anything large of the country ; only thus much I can say, and that not from any imaginary conjectures, but from an ocular observation, that this country of Mary-Land abounds in a flourishing variety of delightful woods, pleasant groves, lovely springs, together with spacious navigable rivers and creeks, it being a most healthful and pleasant situation, so far as my knowledge has yet had any view in it.

Herds of deer are as numerous in this Province of Mary-Land, as cuckolds can be in London, only their horns are not so well dressed and tipped with silver as theirs are.

Here if the devil had such a vagary in his head as he once had among the *Gadareans*, he might drown a thousand head of hogs and they'd ne're be missed, for the very woods of this Province swams with them.

The Christian inhabitant of this Province, as to the general, lives wonderfully well and contented : the government of this Province is by the loyalty of the people, and loving demeanor of the Proprietor and Governor of the same, kept in a continued peace and unity.

The servant of this Province, which are stigmatized for slaves by the clappermouth jaws of the vulgar in England, live more like freemen than the most mechanic apprentices in London, wanting for nothing that is convenient and necessary, and according to their several capacities, are extraordinary well used and respected. So leaving things here as I found them, and lest I should commit sacrilege upon your more serious meditations, with the tautologies of a long-winded letter, I'll subscribe with a heavenly ejacula-

tion to the God of mercy to preserve you now and for evermore, Amen.

Your obedient son,

G. A.

From Mary-Land, Jan. 17, Anno.

TO MY MUCH HONORED FRIEND MR. M. F.

SIR : — You writ to me when I was at Gravesend. (but I had no conveniency to send you an answer till now) enjoining me, if possible, to give you a just information by my diligent observance, what thing were best and most profitable to send into this country for a commodious trafic.

Sir, the enclosed will demonstrate unto you both particularly and at large, to the full satisfaction of your desire, it being an invoice drawn as exact to the business you employed me upon, as my weak capacity could extend to.

Sir, if you send any adventure to this Province, let me beg to give you this advice in it ; that the factor whom you employ be a man of brain, otherwise the planter will go near to make a skimming-dish of his skull : I know your genius can interpret my meaning. The people of this place (whether the saltiness of the ocean gave them any alteration when they went over first, or their continual dwelling under the remote clime where they now inhabit, I know not) are a more acute people in general, in matters of trade and commerce, than in any other place of the world, and by their crafty and sure bargaining, do often overreach the raw and unexperienced merchant. To be

short, he that undertakes merchant's employment for Mary-Land, must have more of knave in him than fool : he must not be a windling piece of formality, that will lose his employer's goods for conscience sake ; nor a flashy piece of prodigality, that will give his merchants fine hollands, laces, and silks, to purchase the benevolence of a female : but he must be a man of solid confidence, carrying always in his looks the effigies of an execution upon command, if he supposes a baffle or denial of payment, where a debt for his employer is legally due.

Sir, I had like almost to forgot to tell you in what part of the world I am : I dwell by providence servant to Mr. Thomas Stocket, in the County of Baltimore, within the Province of Mary-Land, under the Government of the Lord Baltimore, being a country abounding with the variety and diversity of all that is or may be rare. But lest I should tantalize you with a relation of that which is very unlikely of your enjoying, by reason of that strong antipathy you have ever had 'gainst travel, as to your own particular : I'll only tell you, that Mary-Land is seated within the large extending arms of America, between the degrees of 36 and 38, being in longitude from England eleven hundred and odd leagues.

Vale.

G. A.

From Mary-Land, Jan. 17, Anno.

TO MY COUSIN MRS. ELLINOR EVINS.

*E're I forget the zenith of your love,
Let me be banished from the thrones above ;
Light let me never see, when I grow rude,
Intomb your love in base ingratitude :
Nor may I prosper, but the state
Of gaping Tantalus be my fate ;
Rather than I should thus preposterous grow,
Earth would condemn me to her vaults below.
Virtuous and noble, could my genius raise
Immortal anthems to your vestal praise,
None should be more laborious than I,
Saint-like to canonize you to the sky.*

The antimonial cup (dear cousin) you sent me, I had ; and as soon as I received it, I went to work with the infirmities and diseases of my body. At the first draught, it made such havoc among the several humors that had stolen into my body, that like a conjurer in a room among a company of little devils, they no sooner hear him begin to speak high words, but away they pack, and happy is he that can get out first, some up the chimney, and the rest down stairs, till they are all dispersed. So those malignant humors of my body, feeling the operative power, and medicinal virtue of this cup, were so amazed at their sudden surprisal, (being always before battered only by the weak assaults of some few empyrics) they stood not long to dispute, but with joint consent made their retreat, . . .

Cousin, for this great kindness of yours, in sending me this medicinal virtue, I return you my thanks : it came in a very good time, when I was dangerously

sick, and by the assistance of God, it hath perfectly recovered me.

I have sent you here a few furs, they were all I could get at present, I humbly beg your acceptance of them, as a pledge of my love and thankfulness unto you ; I subscribe,

Your loving cousin,

G. A.

From Mary-Land, Dec. 9, Anno.

NARRATIVES DEALING WITH BACON'S
REBELLION.

No event in the Southern Colonies, before the Revolution, stimulated greater literary activity, or was more characteristic of the independent temper bred in Englishmen by their new surroundings than the popular uprising in 1676 known as "Bacon's Rebellion," just one hundred years before not dissimilar causes brought about the general Colonial Declaration of Independence. During the English Protectorate, Governor Berkeley, who had taken the Royal side, had been forced to resign his authority in 1651. He was reinstated at the Restoration, in 1660, and surpassed his royal master in persecution, especially of the Baptists and Quakers, and in taxation, from which the large personal estates were exempted. He abolished also the biennial election of Burgesses. This led to popular discontent, intensified by the conduct of the king, who treated Virginia as his personal property, making large grants to Court favorites, and countenancing laws that produced great uncertainty and distress among the planters. The Assembly, assuming to be a perpetual body, sought to make itself independent of Colonial legislation by a permanent impost on imported tobacco. Vain protests were made to the king against the invasion of popular liberties, and legislation, which reduced the price of tobacco to Colonial currency and burdened trade by Parliamentary restraints. This, added to the corruption, tyranny, and inefficiency of Governor Berkeley,

who seemed unable or unwilling to accord the Colonists adequate protection from Indian massacres and raids, produced a growing discontent that needed only the presence of a sturdy leader to burst into overt rebellion. Such a leader the Colonists found in Nathaniel Bacon, a young man of wealth and the best English training, who in defiance of the Governor took the field against the Indians and was enthusiastically supported by the mass of the people and the smaller planters. This was in April, 1676. The same month Charles II, in response to Colonial protest ordered the preparation of a liberal charter.⁶ In May, Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a traitor. In June, however, the assembly enacted the so-called "Bacon Laws" a series of Reform measures, and that leader was appointed Commander in Chief against the Indians. In July the Reform party seem to have achieved a legislative triumph, and in August a popular convention met at Williamsburg, voted to sustain Bacon against the Indians and to prevent, if possible, a civil war; but the sudden sickness and death of Bacon in October deprived the popular party of its only efficient leader, and Berkeley reëstablished his tyranny by such general hurried and indecent executions that the king is said to have exclaimed "The old fool has taken more lives in his naked country than I for my father's murder." The character of his administration till his enforced recall in 1676 may be gathered from his often quoted saying "Thank God there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope there will be none for an hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and print-

ing has divulged these and other libels." The rebellion had a romantic character that seemed to beckon the historian as it has the romancer. There is an anonymous "History of Bacon's and Ingrams' Rebellion," known as "The Burwell Papers," printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1814 and again more correctly in 1866. Though incomplete it is a thoroughly readable narrative, a little pedantic and affected and pronounced in its sympathy with the aristocratic party. The writer has been conjecturally identified with a planter, Cotton of Acquia Creek, possibly the author of the concise account that heads our selections. Another shorter account written in 1705 by a certain T. M., probably Thomas Matthews, a Burgess of Stafford County, and a man of genial credulity, has furnished us interesting material. But neither of these writers approaches, in literary power, that unknown "Bacon's man" who wrote upon his master a really noble epitaph. All these documents may be found in Vol. I. of "Force's Tracts."

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT.

[FROM "STRANGE NEWS FROM VIRGINIA," LONDON,
1677. POSSIBLY BY COTTON.]

THERE is no nation this day under the copes of Heaven can so experimentally speak the sad effects of men of great parts being reduced to necessity, as England; but not to rake up the notorious misdemeanors of the dead, I shall endeavor to prevent the

sad effects of so deplorable a cause, by giving you an account of the remarkable life and death of this Gentleman of whom I am about to discourse. And because when a man has once engaged himself in an ill action, all men are ready to heap an innumerable aspersions upon him, of which he is no ways guilty, I shall be so just in the history of his life as not to rob him of those commendations which his birth and acquisitions claim as due, and so kind both to loyalty and the wholesome constituted laws of our kingdom, as not to smother anything which would render him to blame.

This Gentleman who has of late beckoned the attention of all men of understanding who are any ways desirous of novelty, [or] care what becomes of any part of the world besides that themselves live in, had the honor to be descended of an ancient and honorable family, his name *Nathaniel Bacon*, to which to the long known title of Gentleman, by his long study [at] the Inns of Court he has since added that of Esquire. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Bacon of an ancient seat known by the denomination of Freestone-Hall in the County of Suffolk, a gentleman of known loyalty and ability. His father as he was able so he was willing to allow this his son a very gentle competency to subsist upon, but he as it proved having a soul too large for that allowance, could not contain himself within bounds ; which his careful father perceiving, and also that he had a mind to travel (having seen divers parts of the world before) consented to his inclination of going to Virginia, and accomodated him with a stock for that purpose, to the value of 1800/ Starling, as I am credibly

informed by a merchant of very good wealth, who is now in this city, and had the fortune to carry him thither.

He began his voyage thitherwards about three years since, and lived for about a year's space in that continent in very good repute, his extraordinary parts like a letter of recommendation rendering him acceptable in all men's company, whilst his considerable concerns in that place were able to bear him out in the best of society. These accomplishments of mind and fortune, rendered him so remarkable, that the worthy Governor of that Continent thought it requisite to take him into his Privy Council.

That Plantation which he chose to settle in is generally known by the name of Curles, situate in the upper part of James River and the time of his Revolt was not till the beginning of March, 167 $\frac{5}{6}$. At which time the Susquo-hannan Indians (a known enemy to that country) having made an insurrection, and killed divers of the English, amongst whom it was his fortune to have a servant slain; in revenge of whose death, and other damage(s) he received from those turbulent Susquo-hanians, without the Governor's consent he furiously took up arms against them and was so fortunate as to put them to flight, but not content therewith; the aforesaid Governor hearing of his eager pursuit after the vanquished Indians, sent out a select company of soldiers to command him to desist; but he instead of listening thereunto, persisted in his revenge, and sent to the Governor to entreat his commission, that he might more cheerfully prosecute his design; which being denied him by the messenger he sent for that purpose, he notwithstanding con-

tinued to make head with his own servants, and other English then resident in Curles against them. In this interim the people of Henrica had returned him Burgess of their County ; and he in order thereunto took his own sloop and came down towards James Town, conducted by thirty odd soldiers, with part of which he came ashore to Mr. Laurence's house, to understand whether he might come in with safety or not, but being discovered by one Parson Clough, and also it being perceived that he had lined the bushes of the said town with soldiers, the Governor thereupon ordered an alarm to be beaten through the whole town, which took so hot, that Bacon thinking himself not so secure whilst he remained there within reach of their fort, immediately commanded his men aboard, and towed his sloop up the river ; which the Governor perceiving, ordered the ships which lay at Sandy-point to pursue and take him ; and they by the industry of their commanders succeeded so well in the attempt, that they presently stopt his passage ; so that Mr. Bacon finding himself pursued both before and behind, after some capitulations, quietly surrendered himself prisoner to the Governor's Commissioners, to the great satisfaction of all his friends ; which action of his was so obliging to the Governor, that he granted him his liberty immediately upon parole, without confining him either to prison or chamber, and the next day, after some private discourse passed betwixt the Governor, the Privy Council, and himself, he was amply restored to all his former honors and dignities, and a commission partly promised him to be general against the Indian army ; but upon further enquiry into his affairs it was not thought fit to

be granted him ; whereat his ambitious mind seemed mightily to be displeased ; insomuch that he gave out, that it was his intention to sell his whole concerns in Virginia, and to go with his whole family to live either in Merry-land or the South, because he would avoid (as he said) the scandal of being accounted a factious person there. But this resolution it seems was but a pretence, for afterwards he headed the same runnagado English that he formerly found ready to undertake and go sharers with him in any of his rebellions, and adding to them the assistance of his own slaves and servants, headed them so far till they toucht at the Occonegies town, where he was treated very civilly, and by the inhabitants informed where some of the Susquehanno's were inforted, whom presently he assails, and after he had vanquished them, slew about seventy of them in their fort. But as he returned back to the Occoneges, he found they had fortified themselves with divers more Indians than they had at his first arrival ; wherefore he desired hostages of them for their good behavior, whilst he and his followers lay within command of their fort. But those treacherous Indians grown confident by reason of their late recruit, returned him this answer, That their guns were the only hostages he was like to have of them, and if he would have them he must fetch them. Which was no sooner spoke, but the Indians sallied out of the fort and shot one of his sentinels, whereupon he charged them so fiercely, that the fight continued not only all that day, but the next also, till the approach of the evening, at which time finding his men grow faint for want of provision, he laid hold of the opportunity, being

befriended by a gloomy night, and so made an honorable retreat homewards. . . .

This being past, Mr. Bacon, about the 25th of June last, dissatisfied that he could not have a commission granted him to go against the Indians, in the night time departed the town unknown to any body, and about a week after got together between four and five hundred men of New-Kent County, with whom he marched to James-Town, and drew up in order before the House of State; and there peremptorily demanded of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses (there then collected) a commission to go against the Indians, which if they should refuse to grant him, he told them that neither he nor ne're a man in his company would depart from their doors until he had obtained his request; whereupon to prevent farther danger in so great an exigence, the Council and Burgesses by much intreaty obtained him a commission signed by the Governor, an act for one thousand men to be listed under his command to go against the Indians, to whom the same pay was to be granted as was allowed to them who went against the fort. But Bacon was not satisfied with this, but afterwards earnestly importuned, and at length obtained of the House, to pass an act of indemnity to all persons who had sided with him, and also letters of recommendations from the Governor to his Majesty in his behalf; and moreover caused Colonel Claybourn and his son Captain Claybourn, Lieutenant Colonel West, and Lieutenant Colonel Hill, and many others, to be degraded for ever bearing any office, whether it were military or civil.

Having obtained these large civilities from the

Governor, &c. one would have thought that if the principles of honesty would not have obliged him to peace and loyalty, those of gratitude should. But, alas, when men have been once flusht or entered with vice, how hard is it for them to leave it, especially it tends towards ambition or greatness, which is the general lust of a large soul, and the common error of vast parts, which fix their eyes so upon the lure of greatness, that they have no time left them to consider by what indirect and unlawful means they must (if ever) attain it.

This certainly was Mr. Bacon's Crime, who after he had once lanced into rebellion, nay, and upon submission had been pardoned for it, and also restored, as if he had committed no such heinous offence, to his former honor and dignities (which were considerable enough to content any reasonable mind) yet for all this he could not forbear wading into his former misdemeanors, and continued his opposition against that prudent and established government, ordered by his Majesty of Great Britain to be duly observed in that continent.

In fine, he continued (I cannot say properly in the fields, but) in the woods with a considerable army all last summer, and maintained several brushes with the Governor's party, sometimes routing them, and burning all before him, to the great damage of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects there resident; sometimes he and his rebels were beaten by the Governor, &c. and forced to run for shelter amongst the woods and swamps. In which lamentable condition that unhappy continent has remained for the space of almost a twelve-month, every one therein that were able

being forced to take up arms for security of their own lives, and no one reckoning their goods, wives, or children to be their own, since they were so dangerously exposed to the doubtful accidents of an uncertain war.

But the indulgent Heavens, who are alone able to compute what measure of punishments are adequate or fit for the sins or transgressions of a nation, has in its great mercy thought fit to put a stop, at least, if not a total period and conclusion to these Virginian troubles, by the death of this Nat. Bacon, the great molester of the quiet of that miserable nation; so that now we who are here in England, and have any relations or correspondence with any of the inhabitants of that continent, may by the arrival of the next ships from that coast expect to hear that they are freed from all their dangers, quitted of all their fears, and in great hopes and expectation to live quietly under their own vines, and enjoy the benefit of their commendable labors.

I know it is by some reported that this Mr. Bacon was a very hard drinker, and that he died by imbibing, or taking in too much brandy. But I am informed by those who are persons of undoubted reputation, and had the happiness to see the same letter which gave his Majesty an account of his death, that there was no such thing therein mentioned: he was certainly a person indued with great natural parts, which notwithstanding his juvenile extravagances he had adorned with many elaborate acquisitions, and by the help of learning and study knew how to manage them to a miracle, it being the general vogue of all that knew him, that he

usually spoke as much sense in as few words, and delivered that sense as opportunely as any they ever kept company withal. Wherefore as I am my self a lover of ingenuity, though an abhorrer of disturbance or rebellion, I think fit since Providence was pleased to let him die a natural death in his bed, not to asperse him with saying he killed himself with drinking.

CAUSES OF THE STRIFE.

[FROM THE "BURWELL PAPERS." FIRST PUBLISHED
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THE people chose Col. Bacon their General, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave, and eloquent ; became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would do to deserve their devotion ; while with no common zeal they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himself, and next to heaven, that he may become their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this gentleman had a perfect antipathy.

It seems that at the first rise of the war this gentleman had made some overtures unto the Governor for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians' proceedings. But the Governor at present, either not willing to commence the quarrel (on his part) till more suitable reasons presented for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen ; or that he doubted Bacon's temper, as he

appeared popularly inclined ; a constitution not consistent with the times or the people's dispositions, being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them too great (as they said) for them to bear, and against which they had some considerable time complained, without the least redress, — for these or some other reasons the Governor refused to comply with Bacon's proposals : which he looking upon as undervaluing as well to his parts as a disparagement to his pretensions, he in some elated and passionate expressions swore, commission or no commission, the next man or woman he heard of that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them though but twenty men would adventure the service with him. Now it so unhappily fell out that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his own family. Whereupon having got together about seventy or ninety persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a commission (after some strugglings with the Governor), some of his best friends who condemned his enterprises, he applies himself. . . .

This rash proceeding of Bacon, if it did not undo himself, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undo them in the affections of the people ; which, to prevent, they thought it conducive to their interest and establishment for to get the Governor in the mind to proclaim him a rebel, as knowing that once being done, since it could not be done but in and by the Governor's name, it must needs breed bad blood between Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged ; for though Sir William might forgive what

Bacon as yet had acted, yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had done. However, according to their desires, Bacon, and all his adherents, was proclaimed a rebel, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty ; with which the Governor advanced from the Middle Plantation to find him out, and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knocked him and those that were with him in the head, as some were in hope they had done, and which by some was earnestly desired.

After some days the Governor retracts his march (a journey of some thirty or forty miles), to meet the Assembly, now ready to set down at our metropolis ; while Bacon in the meanwhile meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resolution and gallantry (as his own party relates it) in their fastness, killing a great many and blowing up their magazines of arms and powder — to a considerable quantity, if we may judge from himself ; no less than four thousand weight. This being done, and all his provisions spent, he returns home, and while here submits himself to be chosen burgess of the county in which he did live, contrary to his qualifications, take him as he was formerly one of the Council of State, or as he was now a proclaimed rebel. However, he applies himself to the performance of that trust reposed in him by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not saying according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop (then at anchor before the town), in which was about thirty gentlemen besides himself, he was there surprised and made

prisoner with the rest, some being put into irons, in which condition they remained some time, till all things were fitted for the trial. Which being brought to a day of hearing, before the Governor and Council. Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanors, but restored to the Council table as before ; and not only, but promised to have a commission signed the Monday following (this was Saturday) as General for the Indian war, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same ; witnessed by the general acclamations of all then in town.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermanent deportments of that blind goddess Fortune, who in the morning leads men with disgraces, and, ere night, crowns him with honors ; sometimes depressing, and again elevating, as her fickle humor is to smile or frown — of which this gentleman's fate was a kind of epitome in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days ; for in the morning, before his trial, he was, in his enemies' hopes and his friends' fears, judged for to receive the guerdon due to a rebel (and such he was proclaimed to be), and, ere night, crowned the darling of the people's hopes and desires, as the only man fit in Virginia to put a stop to the bloody resolution of the heathen. And yet again, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancy, within two or three days, the people's hopes and his desires were both frustrated by the Governor's refusing to sign the promised commission : at which, being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he begs leave of the Governor to dispense with

his services at the Council table, to visit his wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed ; which request the Governor (after some contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of some about him, who suspected Bacon's designs, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to town with five hundred men in arms.

The Governor did not want intelligence of Bacon's designs, and therefore sent out his summons for York train-bands to reinforce his guards then at town. But the time was so short, not above twelve hours' warning, and those that appeared at the rendezvous made such a slender number, that under four ensigns there was not mustered above one hundred soldiers, and not one half of them sure neither and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach town, by a great deal, Bacon had entered the same, and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the height of his own desires. With which commission, being invested (such as it was), he makes ready his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (five hundred in all) and so applies himself to those services the country expected from him. And first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians in his absence (and such might be expected), he commissioned several persons (such as he could confide in) in every respective county, with select companies of well-armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might

have any shelter for the doing of mischief. Which proceedings of his put so much courage into the planters, that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations : which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knocked in the head, as, God knows, too many were, before these orders were observed.

While the General (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affairs, and fitting his provisions about the head of York River, in order to his advance against the Indians, the Governor was steering quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a rebel again, and now, since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him so soon as he should return tired and exhausted by his toil and labor in the Indian war. For the putting this counsel in execution, the Governor steps over in Gloucester County (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any county in Virginia), all which the Governor summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned, where being met according to summons the Governor's proposals was so much disrelished by the whole convention that they all disbanded to their own abodes, after their promise passed to stand by and assist the Governor against all those who should go about to wrong his person or debase his authority ; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined several reasons why they thought it not convenient at present, convenient to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous

manner murdered some hundreds of their dear brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God and the endeavors of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the whole Colony.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they, in this desperate conjuncture of time, should go and engage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, nothing could be expected but ruin and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since that it might reasonably be conceived, that while they should be exposing their breasts against one another's weapons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his advantages by our disadvantages) should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so happen (as they did hope would never happen) that the General, after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Honor's person or government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the Governor could obtain no more, he was at present to rest himself contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be done, since he wanted a power to have that done, which was esteemed the main of the affairs now in hand to be done, namely, the gaining of the Gloucester men to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclaim Bacon a traitor, which was performed in all public places of

meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclamation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honor to do what he had now done, soon reached the General's ears, not yet stopped up from listening to apparent dangers.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and some with him shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly wring the cards and game too out his hand. He perceived that he was fallen (like the corn between the stones), so that if he did not look the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certain enemy in his front, and more than uncertain friends in his rear, portended no great security from a violent death, and that there could be no great difference between his being wounded to death in his breast with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musket bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians, for the preservation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his own and soldiers' safety, otherwise that work must be ill done where the laborers are made cripples, and compelled instead of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vexed him to the heart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those with him should be pursued, with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himself in some degree of safety, since he could not

tell but that some whom he left behind might not more desire his death than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with some of his soldiers) counter-marches his army, and in a trice came up with them at the Middle Plantation, a place situated in the very heart of the country.

BACON'S STRATAGEM.

[FROM THE SAME.]

BACON soon perceived what easy work he was likely to have in this service, and so begun to set as small an esteem upon these men's courages as they did upon their own credits. He saw, by the prologue, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affairs accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once known to those in town, it might raise their hearts to a degree of courage, having so much the odds, and that many times number prevails against resolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lion's strength was too weak, to strengthen the same with the Fox's brains; and how this was to be affected you shall hear :

For immediately he dispatcheth two or three parties of horse and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime gentlewomen, whose husbands were in town; where, when arrived, he sends one of them to inform her own, and the others' husbands, for

what purposes he had brought them into the camp, to be placed in the fore-front of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him.

The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished at this project ; neither were their husbands void of amazements at this subtile invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange that the devil's black guard should be enrolled God's soldiers, they made it no less wonderful that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entered a white guard to the devil. This action was a method in war they were not well acquainted with (no, not those the best informed in military affairs), that before they could come to pierce their enemies' sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives' breast ; by which means though they (in their own persons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better half to drop by gun-shot, or otherwise be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations, or some others I do not know, that kept their swords in their scabbards, but this is manifest : That Bacon knit more knots by his own head in one day than all the hands in town were able to untie in a whole week ; while these ladies' white aprons became of greater force to keep the besieged from falling out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot that should have been sent into his leaguer, had he not made use of this invention.

BACON'S DEATH.

[FROM THE SAME.]

BACON having for some time been besieged by sickness, and now not able to hold out any longer, all his strength and provisions being spent, surrendered up that fort he was no longer able to keep, into the hands of that grim and all-conquering captain, Death, after that he had implored the assistance of the above-mentioned minister, for the well making his articles of rendition. The only religious duty (as they say) he was observed to perform during these intrigues of affairs, in which he was so considerable an actor, and so much concerned, that rather than he would decline the cause, he became so deeply engaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations by his nearest relations and best friends, that he subjected himself to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a man of a more robust frame to his last home. After he was dead he was bemoaned in these following lines (drawn by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said), and who attended his corpse to their burial place, but where deposited till the general day, not known, only to those who are resolutely silent in that particular. There was many copies of verses made after his departure, calculated to the latitude of their affections who composed them ; as a relish taken from both appetites I have here sent you a couple :

BACON'S EPITAPH, MADE BY HIS MAN.

DEATH, why so cruel ? What ! no other way
To manifest thy spleen, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety, liberty, our all,
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late chaos ? Had thy rigid force
Been dealt by retail, and not thus in gross,
Grief had been silent. Now we must complain,
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safeties did so much depend
On him their life, with him their lives must end.

If 't be a sin to think Death brib'd can be
We must be guilty ; say 't was bribery
Guided the fatal shaft. Virginia's foes,
To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
Deserved plagues, dreading their just desert,
Corrupted Death by Paracelsian art
Him to destroy ; whose well tried courage such,
Their heartless hearts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.

Who now must heal those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood ?
Who is 't must plead our cause ? nor trump, nor drum
Nor Deputation ; these, alas ! are dumb
And cannot speak. Our Arms (though ne'er so strong)
Will want the aid of his commanding tongue,
Which conquer'd more than Cæsar. He o'erthrew
Only the outward frame : this could subdue
The rugged works of nature. Souls replete
With dull chill cold, he'd animate with heat
Drawn forth of reason's limbec. In a word,
Mars and Minerva both in him concurred
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
As Cato's did, may admiration strike
Into his foes ; while they confess withal
It was their guilt styl'd him a criminal.
Only this difference does from truth proceed :
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
While none shall dare his obsequies to sing
In deserv'd measures ; until time shall bring

Truth crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest ; while we this truth report
He's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his cause, where he by this doth know
Whether to Cæsar he was friend, or foe.

UPON THE DEATH OF G. B.

WHETHER to Cæsar he was friend or foe ?
Pox take such ignorance, do you not know ?
Can he be friend to Cæsar, that shall bring
The arms of Hell to fight against the King ?
(Treason, rebellion) then what reason have
We for to wait upon him to his grave,
There to express our passions ? Will 't not be
Worse than his crimes, to sing his elegy
In well tun'd numbers ; where each Ella bears
(To his flagitious name) a flood of tears ?
A name that hath more souls with sorrow fed,
Than reached Niobe, single tears ere shed ;
A name that fill'd all hearts, all ears, with pain,
Until blest fate proclaimed, Death had him slain.
Then how can it be counted for a sin
Though Death (nay, though myself) had bribed been
To guide the fatal shaft ? We honor all
That lends a hand unto a traitor's fall.
What though the well paid Rochit soundly ply
And box the pulpit into flattery ;
Urging his rhetoric and strained eloquence,
T' adorn encoffin'd filth and excrements ;
Though the defunct (like ours) ne'er tried
A well intended deed until he died ?
'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us to say
A twofold passion checker-works this day
Of joy and sorrow ; yet the last doth move
On feet impotent, wanting strength to prove
(Nor can the art of logic yield relief)
How joy should be surmounted by our grief.

Yet that we grieve it cannot be denied,
 But 't is because he was, not 'cause he died.
 So wept the poor distressed Ilium dames
 Hearing those named their city put in flames,
 And country ruin'd. If we thus lament,
 It is against our present joys' consent.
 For if the rule in Physic true doth prove,
 Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
 We have outliv'd our sorrows ; since we see
 The causes shifting of our misery.

Nor is 't a single cause that 's slipped away,
 That made us warble out a well-a-day.
 The brains to plot, the hands to execute
 Projected ills, Death jointly did nonsuit
 At his black Bar. And what no bail could save
 He hath committed prisoner to the grave ;
 From whence there's no reprieve. Death keep him close ;
 We have too many Devils still go loose.

“VIOLENT CONCUSSIONS.”

[FROM A NARRATIVE FURNISHED SECRETARY HARLEY
 BY A WRITER SIGNING HIMSELF T. M. WRITTEN
 IN 1705.]

WHILST some days passed in settling the quotas of men, arms and ammunition, provisions, etc., each county was to furnish, one morning early a bruit ran about the town, “Bacon is fled, Bacon is fled ;” whereupon I went straight to Mr. Lawrence, who formerly was of Oxford University, and for wit, learning and sobriety was equalled there by few, and who some years before (as Col. Lee, though one of the Council and a friend of the Governor's, informed me) had been partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favorite ;

which Lawrence complaining loudly of, the Governor bore him a grudge, and now shaking his head, said, "Old treacherous villain," and that his house was searched that morning at daybreak, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the Governor's generosity in pardoning him and his followers, and restoring him to his seat in Council, were no other than previous wheedles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem, forasmuch as the taking Mr. Bacon again into the Council was first to keep him out of the Assembly, and in the next place the Governor knew the country people were hastening down with dreadful threatenings to doubly revenge all wrongs should be done to Mr. Bacon or his men, or whoever should have had the least hand in them.

And so much was true that this young Mr. Nathaniel Bacon (not yet arrived to thirty years) had a nigh relation, namely, Col. Nathaniel Bacon, of long standing in the Council, a very rich, politic man, and childless, designing this kinsman for his heir, who (not without much pains) had prevailed with his uneasy cousin to deliver the forementioned written recantation at the bar, having compiled it ready to his hand, and by whose means 'twas supposed that timely intimation was conveyed to the young gentleman to flee for his life; and also in three or four days after Mr. Bacon was first seized I saw abundance of men in town, come thither from the heads of the rivers, who, finding him restored and his men at liberty, returned home satisfied; a few days after which the Governor, seeing all quiet, gave out private warrants to take him again, intend-

ing, as was thought, to raise the militia, and so to dispose things as to prevent his friends from gathering any more into a like numerous body and coming down a second time to save him.

In three or four days after this escape, upon news that Mr. Bacon was thirty miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the Governor sent to the parts adjacent, on both sides James River, for the militia and all the men could be gotten to come and defend the town. Expresses came almost hourly of the army's approaches, who in less than four days after the first account of them, at two of the clock, entered the town, without being withstood, and formed a body upon a green, not a flight shot from the end of the state-house, of horse and foot, as well regular as veteran troops, who forthwith possessed themselves of all the avenues, disarming all in town, and coming thither in boats or by land.

In half an hour after this the drum beat for the House to meet, and in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came with a file of fusileers on either hand, near the corner of the state-house, where the Governor and Council went forth to him. We saw from the window the Governor open his breast, and Bacon strutting betwixt his two files of men, with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way, both like men distracted; and if, in this moment of fury, that enraged multitude had fallen upon the Governor and Council, we of the Assembly expected the same immediate fate. I stepped down, and amongst the crowd of spectators found the seamen of my sloop, who prayed me not to stir from them, when, in two minutes, the Governor walked

towards his private apartment, a quoit's cast distant, at the other end of the state-house, the gentlemen of the Council following him ; and after them walked Mr. Bacon with outrageous postures of his head, arms, body, and legs, often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat, and after him came a detachment of fusileers (muskets not being there in use), who with their locks bent presented their fusils at a window of the Assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating with menacing voices, " We will have it, we will have it," half a minute, when as one of our House, a person known to many of them, shook his handkerchief out at the window, saying, " You shall have it, you shall have it," three or four times ; at these words they sat down their fusils, unbent their locks and stood still until Bacon, coming back, followed him to their main body. In this hubbub a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the Governor's words, and also followed Mr. Bacon and heard what he said, who came and told me, that when the Governor opened his breast, he said, " Here ! shoot me. Foregod, fair mark ! shoot ! " often rehearsing the same, without any other words ; whereto Mr. Bacon answered, " No, may it please your Honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's ; we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we will have it before we go."

But when Mr. Bacon followed the Governor and Council with the forementioned impetuous (like delirious) actions, whilst that party presented their fusils at the window full of faces, he said, " Damn

my blood, I'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly, and all, and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood ;'' and afterwards 'twas said Bacon had given a signal to his men who presented their fusils at those gazing out at the window, that if he should draw his sword they were on sight of it to fire, and slay us ; so near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxysm of frantic fury but drawn his sword before the pacific handkerchief was shaken out at window.

In an hour or more after these violent concussions Mr. Bacon came up to our chamber and desired a commission from us to go against the Indians. Our Speaker sat silent, when one Mr. Blayton, a neighbor to Mr. Bacon and elected with him a member of Assembly for the same county (who therefore durst speak to him), made answer, “'Twas not in our province or power, nor of any other, save the King's vicegerent, our Governor.” He pressed hard nigh half an hour's harangue on the preserving our lives from the Indians, inspecting the public revenues, the exorbitant taxes, and redressing the grievances and calamities of that deplorable country, whereto having no other answer, he went away dissatisfied.

Next day there was a rumor the Governor and Council had agreed Mr. Bacon should have a commission to go General of the forces we then were raising ; whereupon I being a member for Stafford, the most northern frontier, and where the war begun, considering that Mr. Bacon dwelling in the most southern frontier county, might the less regard the parts I represented, I went to Col. Cole (an active member of the Council) desiring his advice, if ap-

plications to Mr. Bacon on that subject were then seasonable and safe, which he approving and earnestly advising I went to Mr. Lawrence, who was esteemed Mr. Bacon's principal consultant, to whom he took me with him, and there left me, where I was entertained two or three hours with the particular relations of divers before-recited transactions ; and as to the matter I spake of, he told me that the Governor had indeed promised him the command of the forces, and if his Honor should keep his word (which he doubted) he assured me "the like care should be taken of the remotest corners in the land, as of his own dwelling-house," and prayed me to advise him what persons in those parts were most fit to bear commands. I frankly gave him my opinion that the most satisfactory gentlemen to Governor and people, would be commanders of the militia, wherewith he was well pleased, and himself wrote a list of those nominated.

That evening I made known what had passed with Mr. Bacon to my colleague Col. Mason (whose bottle attendance doubled my task) ; the matter he liked well, but questioned the Governor's approbation of it.

I confessed the case required sedate thoughts, reasoning that he and such like gentlemen must either command or be commanded, and if on their denials Mr. Bacon should take distaste, and be constrained to appoint commanders out of the rabble, the Governor himself with the persons and estates of all in the land would be at their dispose, whereby their own ruin might be owing to themselves. In this he agreed and said, "If the Governor would give his own com-

mission he would be content to serve under General Bacon'' (as now he began to be entitled), but first would consult other gentlemen in the same circumstances; who all concurred 'twas the most safe barrier in view against pernicious designs, if such should be put in practice. With this I acquainted Mr. Lawrence, who went rejoicing to Mr. Bacon with the good tidings that the militia commanders were inclined to serve under him, as their General, in case the Governor would please to give them his own commissions.

We of the House proceeded to finish the bill for the war, which by the assent of the Governor and Council being passed into an act, the Governor sent us a letter directed to his Majesty, wherein were these words: "I have above thirty years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over, but am now encompassed with rebellion, like waters, in every respect like to that of Massanello, except their leader," and of like import was the substance of that letter. But we did not believe his Honor sent us all he wrote to his Majesty.

Some judicious gentlemen of our House likewise penned a letter or remonstrance to be sent his Majesty, setting forth the gradations of those eruptions, and two or three of them with Mr. Minge, our clerk, brought it me to compile a few lines for the conclusion of it, which I did (though not without regret in those watchful times, when every man had eyes on him); but what I wrote was with all possible deference to the Governor and in the most soft terms my pen could find the case to admit.

Col. Spencer, being my neighbor and intimate

friend, and a prevalent member in the Council, I prayed him to entreat the Governor we might be dissolved, for that was my first and should be my last going astray from my wonted sphere of merchandise and other my private concernments into the dark and slippery meanders of court embarrassments. He told me the Governor had not then determined his intention, but he would move his Honor about it, and in two or three days we were dissolved, which I was most heartily glad of, because of my getting loose again from being hampered amongst those pernicious entanglements in the labyrinths and snares of State ambiguities, and which until then I had not seen the practice nor the dangers of; for it was observed that several of the members had secret badges of distinction fixed upon them, as not docile enough to gallop the future races that court seemed disposed to lead them, whose maxims I had oftentimes heard whispered before, and then found confirmed by divers considerate gentlemen, viz., "That the wise and rich were prone to faction and sedition, but the fools and poor were easy to be governed."

Many members being met one evening nigh sunset, to take our leaves each of other, in order next day to return homewards, came Gen. Bacon with his hand full of unfolded papers and overlooking us round, walking in the room, said, "Which of these gentlemen shall I entreat to write a few words for me?" where, every one looking aside as not willing to meddle, Mr. Lawrence pointed at me, saying, "That gentleman writes very well;" which I endeavoring to excuse, Mr. Bacon came stooping to the ground and said, "Pray, sir, do me the honor to write a line for me."

This surprising accostment shocked me into a melancholy consternation, dreading upon one hand that Stafford County would feel the smart of his resentment if I should refuse him whose favor I had so lately sought and been generously promised on their behalf; and on the other hand fearing the Governor's displeasure, who I knew would soon hear of it. What seemed most prudent at this hazardous dilemma was to obviate the present impending peril; so Mr. Bacon made me sit the whole night by him filling up those papers, which I then saw were blank commissions signed by the Governor, inserting such names and writing other matters as he dictated; which I took to be the happy effects of the consult before-mentioned with the commanders of the militia, because he gave me the names of very few others to put into these commissions; and in the morning he left me with an hour's work or more to finish, when came to me Capt. Carver, and said he had been to wait on the General for a commission, and that he was resolved to adventure his old bones against the Indian rogues, with other the like discourse, and at length told me that whatever I desired in the General's power was at my service. I prayed him humbly to thank his Honor, and to acquaint him I had no other boon to crave than his promised kindness to Stafford County, for beside the not being worthy, I never had been conversant in military matters, and also having lived tenderly, my service could be of no benefit, because the hardships and fatigues of a wilderness campaign would put a speedy period to my days. Little expecting to hear of more intestine broils, I went home to Potomac, where reports were after-

wards various. We had account that General Bacon was marched with a thousand men into the forest to seek the enemy Indians, and in a few days after our next news was that the Governor had summoned together the militia of Gloucester and Middlesex Counties to the number of twelve hundred men, and proposed to them to follow and suppress that rebel Bacon; whereupon arose a murmuring before his face, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," leaving the Governor and those that came with him to themselves, who being thus abandoned wafted over Chesapeake Bay thirty miles to Accoinac, where are two counties of Virginia.

Mr. Bacon, hearing of this, came back part of the way, and sent out parties of horse patrolling through every county, carrying away prisoners all whom he distrusted might any more molest his Indian persecution, yet giving liberty to such as pledged him their oaths to return home and live quiet; the copies or contents of which oaths I never saw, but heard were very strict, though little observed.

About this time was a spy detected pretending himself a deserter, who had twice or thrice come and gone from party to party, and was by council of war sentenced to death, after which Bacon declared openly to him, "That if any one man in the army would speak a word to save him, he should not suffer," which no man appearing to do, he was executed. Upon this manifestation of clemency Bacon was applauded for a merciful man, not willing to spill Christian blood; nor indeed was it said that he put any other man to death in cold blood, or

plunder(ed) any house. Nigh the same time came Maj. Langston with his troop of horse and quartered two nights at my house, who (after high compliments from the General) told me I was desired “to accept the lieutenancy for preserving the peace in the s. northern counties betwixt Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers.” I humbly thanked his Honor, excusing myself as I had done before on that invitation of the like nature at Jamestown, but did hear he was mightily offended at my evasions and threatened to remember me.

The Governor made a second attempt, coming over from Accomac with what men he could procure in sloops and boats forty miles up the river to Jamestown, which Bacon hearing of, came again down from his forest pursuit, and finding a bank not a flight shot long cast up thwart the neck of the peninsula there in Jamestown, he stormed it, and took the town, in which attack were twelve men slain and wounded, but the Governor with most of his followers fled back down the river in their vessels.

Here, resting a few days, they concerted the burning of the town, wherein Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Drumond, owning the two best houses save one, set fire each to his own house, which example the soldiers following, laid the whole town (with church and state-house) in ashes, saying, “The rogues should harbor no more there.”

On these reiterated molestations, Bacon calls a convention at Middle Plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, in the month of August 1676, where an oath with one or more proclamations were formed, and writs by him issued for an Assembly. The oaths

or writs I never saw, but one proclamation commanded all men in the land on pain of death to join him, and retire into the wilderness upon arrival of the forces expected from England, and oppose them until they should propose or accept to treat of an accommodation, which we who lived comfortably could not have undergone, so as the whole land must have become an Aceldama if God's exceeding mercy had not timely removed him.

WILLIAM HUBBARD.

WILLIAM HUBBARD, a New England clergyman of decided historical bent, was born in England in 1621, and died in 1704 at Ipswich, where he had been pastor from 1665 until a year before his death. He was brought to New England as a child in 1630, and was graduated at Harvard in 1642. A friend describes him as “hospitable, amiable, equal to any of his contemporaries in learning and candor, and superior to all as a writer,” but the specimens that we present will hardly bear out the last judgment. His abilities were, however, highly regarded by his fellow New Englanders, for the Government commissioned him to write a history of New England, for the manuscript of which he was paid fifty pounds. This was not then printed, and barely escaped destruction by the mob that burned Governor Hutchinson’s house in 1765. It was rescued by Dr. Andrew Elliot and presented by his son to the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whom it was printed in 1815. It is more voluminous than interesting, and is not represented in our selections. His *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians of New England*, a less ambitious but very popular work, a volume of sermons, and a *Testimony of the Order of the Gospel in Churches*, alone appeared in the lifetime of their author. Our selections are taken from the *Narrative*

of the Troubles, a book which, with many others dealing with the subject of Indian warfare, aroused breathless interest around New England firesides.

THE BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES.

[FROM "A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN WARS IN
NEW ENGLAND." 1677.]

THE occasion of Philip's so sudden taking up arms the last year, was this : There was one John Sausaman, a very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English language, and bred up in the profession of Christian Religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian Town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of secretary, and his chief councillor, whom he trusted with all his affairs and secret counsels. But afterwards, whether upon the sting of his own conscience, or by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Eliot, that had known him from a child, and instructed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit ; he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and return back to the Christian Indians at Natick where he was baptized, manifested public repentance for all his former offences, and made a serious profession of the Christian Religion : and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian nation ; so as he was observed to conform more to

the English manners than any other Indian : yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namasket, whether for the advantage of fishing or some such occasion, it matters not ; being there not far from Philip's country, he had occasion to be much in the company of Philip's Indians, and of Philip himself : by which means he discerned by several circumstances that the Indians were plotting anew against us ; the which out of faithfulness to the English the said Sausaman informed the Governor of ; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was certain truth in the information ; some inquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion ; Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered ; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the ice upon a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and his hat upon the ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the ice and was drowned : but being missed by his friend, who finding his hat and his gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the ice : when they took it up to bury him, some of his friends specially one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down, before he was put into the water : however,

they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at present : nevertheless David his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton (a town not far from Namasket), occasioned the Governor to inquire further into the business, wisely considering, that as Sausaman had told him, If it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains : wherefore by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a strange providence an Indian was found, that by accident was standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murder the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the Court at Plymouth, or before the Governor, where he plainly confessed what he had seen. The murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being but three in number ; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the councillors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on. This was done at Plymouth Court, held in June 1674. Insomuch that Philip apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about Sausaman's death : but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching

up and down constantly in arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards. The English of Plymouth hearing of all this, yet took no further notice, than only to order a militia watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that Philip finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said Court, the present cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before ; but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise ; for Philip finding his strength daily increasing, by the flocking of neighbor Indians unto him, and sending their wives and children to the Narhagansets for security (as they use to do when they intend war with any of their enemies,) immediately they began to alarm the English at Swanzy, (the next town to Philip's country,) as it were daring the English to begin ; at last their insolencies grew to such an height, that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses ; whereat an Englishman was so provoked, that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him ; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth Colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swanzy : They first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the assembly where they were met in way of humiliation that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others : and then likewise at the same time, they slew two men on the highway, sent to call a surgeon, and barbarously the same day murdered six men in and about a dwelling house in another part of the town : all

which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any resistance. For on the 14th of the same month, besides endeavors used by Mr. Brown of Swanzy, one of the magistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction, an amicable letter was sent from the Council of Plymouth to Philip, showing a dislike of his practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and not suffer himself to be abused by false reports concerning them that intended him no hurt : but no answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatning of war, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things seemed to look with as bad a face as then they did. However the Governor and Council of Plymouth, understanding that Philip continued in his resolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, they immediately sent us what forces they could to secure the towns thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion might be : and also dispatched away messengers to the Massachusetts Governor and Council, letting them know the state of things about Mount Hope : and desiring their speedy assistance, upon which, care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such supplies as were desired : But in the mean time two messengers were dispatched to Philip, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody enterprize, so as to have prevented the mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, viz., anno 1671, by their mediation, a stop was put to the like tragedy ; so the present war might by the same means have been now turned aside. For in the said year, Philip had firmly engaged himself, when he was at Boston, not to quarrel with Plymouth

until he had first addressed himself to the Massachusetts for advice and approbation : But the two messengers aforesaid, finding the men slain in the road, June 24, as they were going for the surgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a peace now could not honorably be concluded after such barbarous outrages committed upon some of the neighbor colony : Wherefore returning with all speed to Boston, the Massachusetts forces were dispatched away with all imaginable haste, as the exigent of the matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their march, the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first engagement in any warlike preparations against the Indians shall be more particularly declared.

On the 26th of June a foot company under Capt. Daniel Henchman, with a troop under Capt. Thomas Prentice, were sent out of Boston towards Mount Hope ; it being late in the afternoon before they began to march, the central eclipse of the moon in Capric happened in the evening before they came up to Neponset River, about twenty miles from Boston, which occasioned them to make an halt for a little repast, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholy fancies would not be persuaded, but that the eclipse falling out at that instant of time was ominous, conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discerned an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an Indian : As some others not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian bow, accounting that likewise ominous (although the mischief following was done by guns, not

by bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what Marcus Crassus, the Roman General, going forth with an army against the Parthians, once wisely replied to a private soldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching at that time, because of an eclipse of the moon in Capricorn, (that he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus) meaning the arrows of the Parthians (accounted very good archers) from whom, as things then fell out, was his greatest danger. But after the moon had waded through the dark shadow of the earth, and borrowed her light again, by the help thereof the two companies marched on towards Woodcok's House, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning. . . .

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

[FROM THE SAME.]

THERE was at this time no small hopes of surprising Philip; several reports being brought that he was seen in this and that place, not having above twenty or thirty men attending on him; but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that mischief he was like to be suffered to do. For on the 1st of July, 1676, a party of his Indians committed a horrid and barbarous murder upon Mr. Hezekiah Willet, of Swanzey, an hopeful young gentleman as any in those parts. They used frequently to keep a sentinel on the top of their house from a watch house built thereon, whence they

could discover any Indians before they came near the house, but not hearing of the enemy in those parts for a considerable time, that necessary piece of circumspection was omitted that day, whereby that deserving person was betrayed into their cruel hands ; for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own door, within sight of his own house, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound ; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which, however, was soon after recovered) leaving the trunk of his body behind as a sad monument of their inhuman cruelty. The same Indians, not being above thirty in number, took away a negro belonging to the same family, who, being faithful to his master's and his country's interest, ventured his life to make his escape, which was the preservation of many others ; for the said negro, being a little acquainted with their language, discovered to the English after his escape Philip's purpose to seize such and such places. In the first place to assault Taunton, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plot and purposes had not so wonderfully been made known beforehand. The said negro affirmed that there was near a thousand of them ; for he observed that although they had killed twenty head of neat cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the next day at eight o'clock in the morning. By this special providence the enemy was defeated of their purpose, and never after had an opportunity to do any considerable damage to the English in that part of the country. So, after this day, we may truly date the time of our deliverance

and beginning of revenges upon the enemy ; now is their own turn come, when it shall be done unto them as they have done unto us : they that before led others into captivity must henceforth go into captivity themselves ; and they that killed with the sword must themselves be killed with the sword, as in the sequel of this narrative will abundantly be manifest. . . .

PHILIP'S DEATH.

THIS bloody wretch had one week or two more to live, an object of pity, but a spectacle of divine vengeance ; his own followers beginning now to plot against his life, to make the better terms for their own, as they did also seek to betray Squaw Sachem of Pocasset, Philip's near kinswoman and confederate. For,

August 6. An Indian willing to shift for himself, fled to Taunton, offering to lead any of the English that would follow him, to a party of Indians, which they might easily apprehend ; which twenty attempted, and accordingly seized the whole company to the number of twenty-six ; all but that Squaw Sachem herself, who intending to make an escape from the danger, attempted to get over the river or arm of the sea near by, upon a raft of some pieces of broken wood ; but whether tired and spent with swimming, or starved with cold and hunger, she was found stark naked in Metapoiset, not far from the waterside ; which made some think, that she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched life just in that place where the year before she had helped Philip to

make his escape : her head being cut off and set upon a pole in Taunton, was known by some Indians then prisoners, which set them into an horrid lamentation ; but such was the righteous hand of God, in bringing at the last that mischief upon themselves, which they had without cause thus long acted against others.

Philip, like a savage and wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods, above an hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den, upon Mount-Hope, where retiring himself with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast, till the messengers of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that anything should be suggested to him about a peace, insomuch as he caused one of his confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace ; which so provoked some of his company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them (being near of kin that was killed) fled to Road-Island (whither, that active champion Capt. Church was newly retired, to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week) informing them that Philip was fled to a swamp in Mount-Hope whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome news, and the best cordial for such martial spirits : whereupon he immediately, with a small company of men, part English and part Indians, began another march, which

shall prove fatal to Philip, and end that controversy betwixt the English and him : for coming very early to the side of the swamp, his soldiers began presently to surround it, and whether the Devil appeared to him in a dream that night, as he did unto Saul, foreboding his tragical end (it matters not) ; as he intended to make his escape out of the swamp, he was shot through the heart by an Indian of his own nation, as is said, that had all this while kept himself in a neutrality until this time, but now had the casting-vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had held so long in suspense. In him is fulfilled what was said in the Prophet, *Wo to thee that spoileth, and thou wast not spoilt, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee ; when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee*, Isa. 33. 1.

With Philip at this time fell five of his truest followers, of whom one was said to be the son of his chief captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before. This was done August 12, 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favour to the Colony of Plymouth, who had for their former successes, appointed the 17th day of August following, to be kept as a day of solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God.

MARY ROWLANDSON.

MARY ROWLANDSON, the narrative of whose *Captivity and Removes among the Indians* appeared in 1682, and was a very popular book, was a daughter of John White and the wife of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, the first minister of Lancaster, Massachusetts. During King Philip's War, on the tenth of February, 1676, this town was surprised and burned, and she was among the captives. Her narrative tells of her sufferings from hunger, of the death of her child from cold, and of her sale by her Narragansett captor to an Indian chief, in whose wife she found "a most uncomfortable mistress," though King Philip treated her with much courtesy. For some three months she accompanied the Indians on their marches and counter-marches, suffering from hunger, abuse, and insult. Finally she was redeemed for about eighty dollars, a sum raised by several women of Boston, though the negotiations were carried on through a resident of Concord. Her later life was uneventful, but the story of these three months, typical as it was of the sufferings of many, sank deep into the consciousness of the colonists, and gave to border strife something of the consecration of a holy war.

INDIAN ASSAULT.

[FROM "NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY AND RESTOURATION OF MRS. MARY ROULANDSON." 1682.]

AT length they came and beset our house, [at Lancaster, February 10, 1675, O. S.] and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. The house stood upon the edge of a hill ; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others into the barn, and others behind anything that would shelter them ; from all which places they shot against the house, so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail, and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, then a third. About two hours (according to my observation in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it, (which they did with flax and hemp which they brought out of the barn, and there being no defence about the house, only two flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished) they fired it once, and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is the dreadful hour come that I have often heard of (in time of the war, as it was the case of others) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in blood, the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, Lord, what shall we do ! Then I took my children (and one of my sisters hers) to go forth

and leave the house : but, as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and threw them, so that we were forced to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our garrison, but none of them would stir, though at another time if an Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house, but my brother-in-law (being before wounded in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the Indians scornfully shouted and hallowed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem) through the bowels and hand of my poor child in my arms. One of my elder sister's children (named William) had then his leg broke, which the Indians perceiving they knocked him on the head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My eldest sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood ; and her eldest son telling her that her son William was dead, and myself was wounded, she said, “and Lord, let me die with them ;” which was no sooner said, but she

was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labors, being faithful to the service of God in her place. . . .

SOME OF HER EXPERIENCES.

[FROM THE SAME.]

I HAD often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should choose rather to be killed by them than taken alive, but when it came to the trial, my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous bears, than that moment to end my days. And that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous captivity, I shall particularly speak of the several Removes we had up and down the wilderness.

THE FIRST REMOVE.

Now away we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill, within sight of the town, where we intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house (deserted by the English before, for fear of the Indians); I asked them whether I might not lodge in the house that night? to which they answered, "What, will you love Englishmen still?" This was the dolefullest night that ever my

eyes saw. Oh, the roaring and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell. And miserable was the waste that was there made, of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, calves, lambs, roasting pigs, and fowls (which they had plundered in the town), some roasting, some lying and burning, and some boiling, to feed our merciless enemies; who were joyful enough, though we were disconsolate. To add to the dolefulness of the former day, and the dismalness of the present night, my thoughts ran upon my losses and sad, bereaved condition. All was gone, my husband gone (at least separated from me, he being in the Bay; and to add to my grief, the Indians told me they would kill him as he came homeward), my children gone, my relations and friends gone, our house and home, and all our comforts within door and without, all was gone (except my life), and I knew not but the next moment that might go too.

There remained nothing to me but one poor, wounded babe, and it seemed at present worse than death, that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking compassion, and I had no refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it. Little do many think, what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy, those even that seem to profess more than others among them, when the English have fallen into their hands. . . .

THE SECOND REMOVE.

But now (the next morning) I must turn my back upon the town, and travel with them into the

vast and desolate wilderness, I know not whither. It is not my tongue or pen can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit, that I had at this departure ; but God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse ; it went moaning all along : “ I shall die, I shall die.” I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms, till my strength failed and I fell down with it. Then they set me upon a horse with my wounded child in my lap, and there being no furniture on the horse’s back, as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horse’s head, at which they, like inhuman creatures, laughed, and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our days, overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along, that I might see more of his power, yea so much that I could never have thought of, had I not experienced it. . . .

THE EIGHTH REMOVE.

. . . As I sat amongst them, musing on things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me. We asked of each other’s welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition and the change that had come upon us. We had husband and father, and children and sisters, and friends and relations, and house and home, and many comforts of this life ; but now we might say as Job, “ Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and

naked shall I return : The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.” I asked him whether he would read ? he told me he earnestly desired it. I gave him my Bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable scripture, Psalm cxviii. 17, 18 : “ I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord : The Lord hath chastened me sore, yet he hath not given me over unto death.” Look here, mother (says he), did you read this ? And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these lines, even as the Psalmist says, to declare the works of the Lord, and his wonderful power in carying us along, preserving us in the wilderness while under the enemy’s hand, and returning of us in safety again ; and his goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress.

But to return : We traveled on till night, and in the morning we must go over the river to Philip’s crew. When I was in the canoe, I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of Pagans that were on the bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst : I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their gains and victories. Then my heart began to fail, and I fell a weeping ; which was the first time, to my remembrance, that I wept before them ; although I had met with so much affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight, but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished ; but now I may say as Psal. cxxxvii. 1 : “ By the river of Babylon, there

we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.” There one of them asked me why I wept? I could hardly tell what to say; yet I answered, they would kill me: No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them, and gave me two spoonfuls of meal (to comfort me) and another gave me half a pint of peas, which was worth more than many bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip; he bade me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it? (a usual compliment now a days, among the saints and sinners), but this in no way suited me. For though I had formerly used tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a bait the devil lays to make men lose their precious time. I remember with shame how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another; such a bewitching thing it is: but I thank God, He has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed than to sit sucking a stinking tobacco-pipe.

Now the Indians gathered their forces to go against Northampton. Over night one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they went to boiling of ground-nuts, and parching corn (as many as had it) for their provision: and in the morning away they went. During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did; for which he gave me a shilling. I offered the money to my mistress, but she bid me keep it, and with it I bought a piece of horse-flesh. Afterward he asked me to make a cap for his boy, for which he invited me to dinner;

I went, and he gave me a pancake, about as big as two fingers ; it was made of parched wheat, beaten and fried in bear's grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life. There was a squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her san-nup ; for which she gave me a piece of beef. Another asked me to knit a pair of stockings, for which she gave me a quart of peas. I boiled my peas and beef together, and invited my master and mistress to dinner ; but the proud gossip, because I served them both in one dish, would eat nothing, except one bit that he gave her upon the point of his knife. Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and found him lying flat on the ground ; I asked him how he could sleep so ? he answered me, that he was not asleep, but at prayer ; and that he lay so, that they might not observe what he was doing. I pray God he may remember these things now he is returned in safety. At this place (the sun now getting higher) what with the beams and heat of the sun, and smoke of the wigwams, I thought I should have been blinded. I could scarce discern one wigwam from another. There was one Mary Thurston, of Medfield, who, seeing how it was with me, lent me a hat to wear ; but as soon as I was gone, the squaw that owned that Mary Thurston came running after me, and got it away again. Here was a squaw who gave me a spoonful of meal ; I put it in my pocket to keep it safe, yet notwithstanding somebody stole it, but put five Indian corns in the room of it ; which corns were the greatest provision I had in my travel for one day.

HER RETURN.

. . . About the sun's going down, Mr. Hoar, myself, and the two Indians, came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years among my relations and neighbors ; and now not one Christian to be seen, or one house left standing. We went on to a farm house that was yet standing, where we lay all night ; and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lie on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon we came to Concord. Now was I full of joy and yet not without sorrow : joy, to see such a lovely sight, so many Christians together, and some of them my neighbors. There I met with my brother, and brother-in-law, who asked me if I knew where his wife was. Poor heart ! he had helped to bury her and knew it not ; she, being shot down by the house, was partly burned, so that those who were at Boston at the desolation of the town, came back afterward and buried the dead, did not know her. Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own children among the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received ; and I did not know whether ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment, we went to Boston that day, where I met with my dear husband ; but the thoughts of our dear children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort in each other. . . . About this time the council had ordered a day of public thanksgiving,

though I had still cause of mourning ; and being unsettled in our minds we thought we would ride eastward to see if we could hear anything concerning our children. As we were riding along between Ipswich and Rowley, we met with William Hubbard, who told us our son Joseph and my sister's son were come into Major Waldren's ; I asked him how he knew it ? He said the Major himself told him so. So along we went till we came to Newbury ; and their minister being absent, they desired my husband to preach the thanksgiving for them ; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but he would go over to Salisbury to hear father, and come again in the morning, which he did, and preached there that day. At night when he had done, one came and told him that his daughter was come into Providence. Here was mercy on both hands. Now we were between them, the one on the east, and the other on the west ; our son being nearest, we went to him first, to Portsmouth, where we met with him and with the Major also, who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the Major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labor of love. My sister's son was redeemed for four pounds, which the council gave order for the payment of. Having now received one of our children, we hastened toward the other. Going back through Newbury, my husband preached there on the Sabbath Day, for which they rewarded him manifold.

On Monday we came to Charlestown, where we heard that the Governor of Rhode Island had sent over

for our daughter, to take care of her, being now within his jurisdiction ; which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Rhode Island, Mr. Newman went over and took care of her, and brought her to his own house. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that He raised up compassionate friends on every side, when we had nothing to recompense any for their love. The Indians were now gone that way, that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her ; but the cart which carried provision to the English army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe ; blessed be the Lord for it. Her coming in was after this manner : She was traveling one day with the Indians, with her basket on her back ; the company of Indians were got before her and gone out of sight, all except one squaw. She followed the squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens, nor under them but the earth. Thus she traveled three days together, having nothing to eat or drink but water and green whortleberries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that town. The Indians often said that I should never have her under twenty pounds, but now the Lord hath brought her in upon free cost, and given her to me the second time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed to each other. Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of the horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. 'Tis the desire of my soul that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving.

URIAN OAKES.

URIAN OAKES, a New England clergyman, poet, Latinist, and President of Harvard College, was born in England in 1631, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1681. He was brought to America as an infant, and showed great precocity, especially in mathematics. He was graduated at Harvard in 1649, studied theology, and preached for a time at Roxbury. Then he went to England, where he obtained a benefice under the Protectorate, which he lost at the Restoration. In 1668 he was summoned to take charge of the church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and assumed that post three years later. He succeeded Dr. Leonard Hoar as President of Harvard in 1675, although he was not formally inaugurated till 1680. He is especially noteworthy for the scholarly Latinity of his Commencement Sermons, but was also a gifted preacher in the vernacular, and the author of one of the few really good poems of the epoch — an elegy on his friend the Rev. Thomas Shepard, who died in 1677.

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THOMAS
SHEPARD.

[AN "ELEGY UPON THE DEATH OF THE REVEREND
MR. THOMAS SHEPARD." 1677.]

OH ! that I were a poet now in grain !
How would I invoke the Muses all
To deign their presence, lend their flowing vein ;
And help to grace dear Shepard's funeral !
How would I paint our griefs, and succors borrow
From art and fancy, to limn out our sorrow !

Now could I wish (if wishing would obtain)
The sprightliest efforts of poetic rage,
To vent my griefs, make others feel my pain,
For this loss of the glory of our age.

Here is a subject for the loftiest verse
That ever waited on the bravest hearse.

And could my pen ingeniously distill
The purest spirits of a sparkling wit
In rare conceits, the quintessence of skill
In elegiac strains ; none like to it :

I should think all too little to condole
The fatal loss (to us) of such a soul.

Could I take highest flights of fancy, soar
Aloft ; if wit's monopoly were mine ;
All would be much too low, too light, too poor,
To pay due tribute to this great divine.

Ah ! wit avails not, when th' heart's like to break,
Great griefs are tongue-tied, when the lesser speak.

* * * * *

Oh ! that my head were waters, and mine eyes
A flowing spring of tears, still issuing forth
In streams of bitterness, to solemnize
The obits of this man of matchless worth !
Next to the tears our sins do need and crave,
I would bestow my tears on Shepard's grave.

Not that he needs our tears : for he hath dropt
His measure full ; not one tear more shall fall
Into God's bottle from his eyes ; Death stopt
That water-course, his sorrows ending all.
He fears, he cares, he sighs, he weeps no more :
He's past all storms, arriv'd at th' wished shore.

Dear Shepard ! could we reach so high a strain
Of pure seraphic love, as to divest
Ourselves, and love, of self respects, thy gain
Would joy us, though it cross our interest.
Then would we silence all complaints with this,
Our dearest friend is doubtless gone to bliss.

Ah ! but the lesson's hard, thus to deny
Our own dear selves, to part with such a loan
Of Heaven (in time of such necessity)
And love thy comforts better than our own.
Then let us moan our loss, adjourn our glee,
Till we come thither to rejoice with thee.

As when some formidable comet's blaze,
As when portentous prodigies appear,
Poor mortals with amazement stand and gaze,
With hearts affrighted, and with trembling fear :
 So are we all amazed at this blow,
 Sadly portending some approaching woe.

We shall not summon bold astrologers
To tell us what the stars say in the case,
(Those cousin-germans to black conjurers),
We have a sacred Oracle that says,
 When th' righteous perish, men of mercy go,
 It is a sure presage of coming wo.

He was (ah, woful word ! to say he was)
Our wrestling Israel, second unto none,
The man that stood i' th' gap, to keep the pass,
To stop the troops of judgments rushing on.
 This man the honor had to hold the hand
 Of an incensed God against our Land.

* * * * * * *

Oh for the raptures, transports, inspirations
Of Israel's Singer, when his Jonathan's fall
So tun'd his mourning harp ! what Lamentations
Then would I make for Shepard's funeral !
 How truly can I say, as well as he,
 “ My dearest brother, I am distress'd for thee.”

How lovely, worthy, peerless, in my view !
How precious, pleasant hast thou been to me !

How learned, prudent, pious, grave, and true !
And what a faithful friend ! who like to thee !

Mine eye's desire is vanish'd : who can tell
Where lives my dearest Shepard's parallel ?

'Tis strange to think : but we may well believe,
That not a few, of different persuasions
From this great worthy, do now truly grieve
I' th' mourning crowd, and join their lamentations.
Such powers magnetic had he to draw to him
The very hearts, and souls, of all that knew him !

Art, nature, grace, in him were all combin'd
To shew the world a matchless paragon :
In whom of radiant virtues no less shin'd
Than a whole constellation : but he's gone !
He's gone alas ! Down in the dust must lye
As much of this rare person as could die.

* * * * *

Great was the father, once a glorious light
Among us, famous to an high degree :
Great was this son : indeed (to do him right)
As great and good (to say no more) as he.
A double portion of his father's spirit
Did this (his eldest) son, through grace, inherit.

His look commanded reverence and awe,
Though mild and amiable, not austere :
Well-humor'd was he as I ever saw
And rul'd by love and wisdom, more than fear,
The Muses, and the Graces too, conspir'd
To set forth this rare piece, to be admir'd,

He govern'd well the tongue (that busy thing,
 Unruly, lawless and pragmatical),
 Gravely reserv'd, in speech not lavishing,
 Neither too sparing, nor too liberal.

His words were few, well-season'd, wisely weigh'd,
 And in his tongue the law of kindness sway'd.

Learned he was beyond the common size,
 Befriended much by nature in his wit,
 And temper (sweet, sedate, ingenious, wise),
 And (which crown'd all) he was Heaven's favourite;
 On whom the God of all Grace did command,
 And show'r down blessings with a liberal hand.

Wise he, not wily, was ; grave, not morose ;
 Not stiff, but steady ; serious, but not sour ;
 Concern'd for all, as if he had no Foes ;
 (Strange if he had !) and would not waste an hour.

Thoughtful and active for the common good :
 And yet his own place wisely understood.

* * * * *

Large was his heart, to spend without regret,
 Rejoicing to do good : not like those moles
 That root i' th' earth, or roam abroad, to get
 All for themselves (those sorry, narrow souls !)
 But he, like th' sun (i' th' center, as some say)
 Diffus'd his rays of goodness every way.

He breath'd love, and pursu'd peace in his day,
 As if his soul were made of harmony :
 Scarce ever more of goodness crowded lay
 In such a piece of frail mortality.

Sure Father Wilson's genuine son was he,
New-England's Paul had such a Timothy.

No slave to th' world's grand idols ; but he flew
At fairer quarries, without stooping down
To sublunary prey : his great soul knew
Ambition none, but of the heavenly crown :
Now he hath won it, and shall wear 't with honor
Adoring grace, and God in Christ, the donor.

A friend to truth, a constant foe to error,
Powerful i' th' pulpit, and sweet in converse,
To weak ones gentle, to th' profane a terror, —
Who can his virtues and good works rehearse ?
The Scripture — Bishop's character read o're,
Say this was Shepard's : what need I say more ;

I say no more ; let them that can declare
His rich and rare endowments, paint this sun
With all its dazzling rays : but I despair,
Hopeless by any hand to see it done.
They that can Shepard's goodness well display
Must be as good as he ; but who are they ?

See where our Sister Charlestown sits and moans !
Poor widow'd Charlestown ! all in dust, in tears !
Mark how she wrings her hands ! hear how she groans !
See how she weeps ! what sorrow like to hers !
Charlestown, that might for joy compare of late
With all about her, now looks desolate.

As you have seen some pale, wan, ghastly look,
When grisly death, that will not be said nay,
Hath seiz'd all for itself, possession took,
And turn'd the soul out of its house of clay :
 So visag'd is poor Charlestown at this day ;
 Shepard, her very soul, is torn away.

Cambridge groans under this so heavy cross,
And sympathizes with her Sister dear ;
Renews her griefs afresh for her old loss
Of her own Shepard, and drops many a tear.
 Cambridge and Charlestown now joint mourners are,
 And this tremendous loss between them share.

Must Learning's friend (ah ! worth us all) go thus ?
That great support to Harvard's nursery !
Our Fellow (that no fellow had with us)
Is gone to Heaven's great University.
 Ours now indeed's a lifeless Corporation,
 The soul is fled, that gave it animation !

Poor Harvard's sons are in their mourning dress :
Their sure friend's gone ! their hearts have put on
 mourning ;
Within their walls are sighs, tears, pensiveness ;
Their new foundations dread an overturning.
 Harvard ! where's such a fast friend left to thee ?
 Unless thy great friend LEVERET, it be.

We must not with our greatest Sovereign strive,
Who dare find fault with him that is most high ?
That hath an absolute prerogative.
And doth his pleasure : none may ask him, why ?

We're clay-lumps, dust-heaps, nothings in his sight :
The Judge of all the earth doth always right.

Ah ! could not prayers and tears prevail with God !
Was there no warding off that dreadful blow !
And was there no averting of that rod !
Must Shepard die ! and that good angel go !
Alas ! Our heinous sins (more than our hairs)
It seems, were louder, and out-cried our prayers.

See what our sins have done ! what ruins wrought
And how they have pluck'd out our very eyes !
Our sins have slain our Shepard ! we have bought,
And dearly paid for, our enormities.
Ah, cursed sins ! that strike at God and kill
His servants, and the blood of prophets spill.

As you would loath the sword that's warm and red,
As you would hate the hands that are embrued
I' th' heart's-blood of your dearest friends : so dread,
And hate your sins ; Oh ! let them be pursued :
Revenge take on bloody sins : for there's
No refuge-city for these murtherers.

In vain we build the prophets' sepulchers,
In vain bedew their tombs with tears, when dead ;
In vain bewail the deaths of ministers,
Whilst prophet-killing sins are harbored.
Those that these murtherous traitors favor, hide ;
Are with the blood of Prophets deeply dy'd.

New-England ! know thy heart-plague : feel this
blow ;

A blow that sorely wounds both head and heart,
A blow that reaches all, both high and low,
A blow that may be felt in every part.

Mourn that this great man's fallen in Israel :
Let it be said, " with him New-England fell ! "

Farewell, dear Shepard ! Thou art gone before,
Made free of Heaven, where thou shalt sing loud
hymns

Of high triumphant praises ever more,
In the sweet quire of saints and seraphims.

Lord ! look on us here, clogg'd with sin and clay,
And we, through grace, shall be as happy as they.

My dearest, inmost, bosom-friend is gone !
Gone is my sweet companion, soul's delight !
Now in an hud'ling crowd I'm all alone,
And almost could bid all the world " Goodnight."
Blest be my Rock ! God lives : O let him be,
As He is All, so All in All to me !

INCREASE MATHER.

OF the noted families of New England clergymen, that of the Mathers is probably the most distinguished. The founder of the family, Richard Mather, was born in Lancashire, England, in 1596, and died in Dorchester, Massachusetts, April 22, 1669. He was a strong man and a typical clergyman, who brought up six sons, four of whom were ministers. We have already learned something of his labors in connection with the *Bay Psalm Book*. Of his sons, the youngest, Increase, who was born June 21, 1639, at Dorchester, and died August 23, 1723, at Boston, was the most famous. A passage to be given shortly from the biography of him written by his still more famous son, Cotton, will explain how he came by his curious name, and will present some of his most marked characteristics. He graduated at Harvard in 1656, and then at the request of his older brothers, Samuel and Nathaniel, who were preachers in Ireland and England respectively, he crossed the Atlantic, took his second degree at Trinity College, Dublin, and received a ministerial charge in Devonshire. A little later he was made chaplain of a garrison in Guernsey, but after the Restoration returned to Massachusetts, and, in 1664, became pastor of the new North Church in Boston, a position which he held until his death. Here he soon

established his reputation, not merely as a great preacher, but as a great man.

Only a few important facts from his crowded biography can be given here. He opposed every liberal movement among the New England clergy, but toward the close of his life was doomed to see many innovations prevail. He took part in the famous persecution of the witches, but was on the whole conservative, more so than his son Cotton. In 1681 he was elected President of Harvard in succession to Urian Oakes, but his church not being willing to give him up, he resigned the office. Four years latter, another vacancy occurring, an arrangement was made by which he could still reside in Boston, and he became President, holding the office until 1701, when his less orthodox opponents managed by shrewd legislation to secure his retirement. His most important services, however, were not as clergyman, voluminous author, and college president, but as agent for Massachusetts to King William III. for the restoration of the Charter. This restoration could not be accomplished, but he secured a new Charter which lasted to the Revolution, and he won the confidence of the King and of his fellow-citizens. In his last years, as we have noted, he found his conservative influence waning, but as our extract from his son's book will show, he died as full of honors as of years.

Throughout his life Increase Mather kept the printing-press busy ; the titles of his works are said to amount to no less than one hundred and thirty-six. Of course most of these productions were sermons, but not a few of them were important books written

in English of considerable vigor and displaying vast learning. Among the most noteworthy are *A History of the War with the Indians* (1676), *A Relation of Troubles of New England from the Indians* (1677), *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), and *Cases of Conscience* (1693). The two latter works may be obtained in the "Library of Old Authors"; new editions of the two former were brought out by Samuel G. Drake in 1862 and 1864. A good account of Increase Mather's life is given in Professor Barrett Wendell's biography of Cotton Mather.

CONCERNING THE WRITING OF HISTORY.

[FROM THE PREFACE TO "A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WAR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND." 1676.]

. . . AND I hope that in one thing (though it may be in little else) I have performed the part of an historian, viz. in endeavoring to relate things truly and impartially, and doing the best I could that I might not lead the reader into a mistake. History is indeed in itself a profitable study. Learned men know that Polybius, and the great Philosopher call it, *Αληθινωτάτην παιδείαν καὶ χρησιμην γυμνασιαν*. And there is Holy Scripture to encourage a work of this nature; For what was the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*? Num. 21. 14. And that book of Jasher, which we read of in Joshua and in Samuel? Yea,

the book of the Chronicles, mentioned in the book of Kings (for we find not some of those things referred unto in the canonical book of Chronicles.) What were these books but the faithful records of the providential dispensations of God in the days of old? Yea, and it is proper for the ministers of God, to engage themselves in services of this nature; Witness the History or Commentary מדרש of the Prophet Iddo, 2 Chro. 13. 22. Whether my defective manner of management in this history renders it unprofitable, I know not. Considering the other employments that are always upon me, together with my personal incapacities, I have cause to suspect it may be so in a great measure. If any one shall hereby be incited to do better, I hope I shall rather thank than envy him, *πλεόνων ἔργον ἀμεινον*. And I earnestly wish that some effectual course may be taken (before it be too late) that a just History of New England be written and published to the world. That is a thing that hath often been spoken of, but was never done to this day, and yet the longer it is deferred, the more difficulty will there be in effecting of it.

THE HAND OF GOD.

[FROM “AN ESSAY FOR THE RECORDING OF ILLUSTRIOUS PROVIDENCES.” 1684.]

IT hath been by many observed, that men addicted to horrid cursings and execrations have pulled down the imprecated vengeance of Heaven upon themselves. Sundry very awful examples of this kind have lately happened: I shall here mention one or two.

The hand of God was very remarkable in that which came to pass in the Narragansett country in New England, not many weeks since ; for I have good information, that on August 28, 1683, a man there (viz. Samuel Wilson) having caused his dog to mischief his neighbor's cattle was blamed for his so doing. He denied the fact with imprecations, wishing that he might never stir from that place if he had so done. His neighbor being troubled at his denying the truth, reproved him, and told him he did very ill to deny what his conscience knew to be truth. The atheist thereupon used the name of God in his imprecations, saying, "He wished to God he might never stir out of that place, if he had done that which he was charged with." The words were scarce out of his mouth before he sunk down dead, and never stirred more ; a son-in-law of his standing by and catching him as he fell to the ground.

A thing not unlike this happened (though not in New England yet) in America, about a year ago ; for in September, 1682, a man at the Isle of Providence, belonging to a vessel, whereof one Wollery was master, being charged with some deceit in a matter that had been committed to him, in order to his own vindication, horridly wished "that the devil might put out his eyes if he had done as was suspected concerning him." That very night a rheum fell into his eyes, so that within a few days he became stark blind. His company being astonished at the Divine hand which thus conspicuously and signally appeared, put him ashore at Providence, and left him there. A physician being desired to undertake his cure, hearing how he came to lose his sight, refused

to meddle with him. This account I lately received from credible persons, who knew and have often seen the man whom the devil (according to his own wicked wish) made blind, through the dreadful and righteous judgment of God.

PREPARATION FOR JUDGMENT.

[FROM "THE GREATEST SINNERS EXHORTED AND ENCOURAGED TO COME TO CHRIST, AND THAT NOW WITHOUT DELAYING." 1686.]

CONSIDER. 3. That as death leaveth a man, so judgment will find him. All the time which men have to prepare for judgment is only whilst they are in this world. There is no work in the grave whither thou goest. For there is a particular judgment passeth upon every soul at death. Heb. 9, 27. It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment. When once a man's soul is out of his body, it appears before the judge of all, and is sentenced either to life or death forever; which particular judgment will be published at the Last Day. If death find a man unprepared, so will judgment. Therefore it highly concerns every man to prepare now. Miserable sinner, thou knowest not how soon death may come upon thee like an armed man, and drag thy soul before the judgment seat of GOD! It may be this night it will be so. Death sometimes giveth no warning before it comes. Remember that Scripture, Amos 4. 11. I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.

And how was that? Verily by thunder and lightning from Heaven. And has it not been so amongst us also? There have been (to my observation) about twenty persons in this land, who have at several times and places been killed with lightning, some such very lately. Therefore if God fell upon them and struck them dead in a moment, how dost thou know but that it may be so with thee? If thou continuest unprepared for death and judgment, thou knowest not but that the next thunderstorm that cometh may prove to thy soul, as snares and fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest.

Consider. 4. As judgment shall find a man so it will be with him to all eternity. Eternity will fasten its iron teeth upon thy soul then. Hence the Scripture speaketh of Eternal Judgment, Heb. 6. 2. because men shall then be judged to an eternal estate either of weal or of woe. The wicked shall then go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal. If judgment find a man in a good estate he shall be for ever with the Lord, he shall be where there is fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore. But if judgment find him in his sins, he shall be cast into a dungeon out of which he shall never come, even into blackness of darkness for ever. O think of this one word, If judgment find thee in thy sins; after thou hast been in misery as many millions of ages as there have been days and minutes since the world began, thou art no nearer to an end of thy misery than thou wast the first hour that the Son of God passed on thee a sentence of eternal death.

STRANGE CERTAINTIES FROM SCRIPTURE AND HISTORY.

[FROM "CASES OF CONSCIENCE CONCERNING EVIL SPIRITS." 1693.]

AR[GUMENT] 4. It is certain both from Scripture and history, that magicians by their enchantments and hellish conjurations may cause a false representation of persons and things. An enchanted eye shall see such things as others cannot discern ; it is a thing too well known to be denied, that some by rubbing their eyes with a bewitched water have immediately there-upon seen that which others could not discern ; and there are persons in the world, who have a strange spectral sight. Mr. Glanvil speaks of a Dutchman that could see ghosts which others could perceive nothing of. There are in Spain a sort of men whom they call Zahurs, these can see into the bowels of the earth ; they are able to discover minerals and hidden treasures ; nevertheless, they have their extraordinary sight only on Tuesdays and Fridays, and not on the other days of the week. Delrio saith, that when he was at Madrid, Anno Dom. 1575, he saw some of these strange sighted creatures. Mr. George Sinclair, in his book entituled "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," has these words, "I am undoubtedly informed, that men and women in the High-lands can discern fatality approaching others, by seeing them in the water or with winding sheets about them. And that others can lecture in a sheep's shoulder-bone a death within the parish seven or eight days

before it come. It is not improbable but that such a preternatural knowledge comes first by a compact with the devil, and is derived downward by succession to their posterity. Many such I suppose are innocent, and have this sight against their will and inclination." Thus Mr. Sinclare. I concur with his supposal, that such knowledge is originally from Satan, and perhaps the effect of some old enchantment. There are some at this day in the world, that if they come into a house where one of the family will die within a fortnight, the smell of a dead corpse offends them to such a degree, as that they cannot stay in that house. It is reported that near unto the Abbey of Maurice in Burgundy there is a fish-pond in which are fishes put according to the number of the monks of that place ; if any one of them happened to be sick, there is a fish seen to float and swim above water half dead, and if the monk shall die, the fish a few days before dieth. In some parts in Wales death-lights or corpse candles (as they call them) are seen in the night time going from the house where some body will shortly die, and passing in to the churchyard. Of this, my honored and never to be forgotten friend, Mr. Richard Baxter, has given an account in his book about witchcrafts lately published : what to make of such things, except they be the effect of some old enchantment, I know not ; nor what natural reason to assign for that which I find amongst the Observations of the Imperial Academy for the year 1687, viz. that in an orchard where are choice Damascen plums, the master of the family being sick of a quartan ague, whilst he continued very ill, four of his plum-trees

instead of Damascens brought forth a vile sort of yellow plums : but recovering health, the next year the tree did (as formerly) bear Damascens again ; but when after that he fell into a fatal dropsy, on those trees were seen not Damascens, but another sort of fruit. The same author gives instances of which he had the certain knowledge, concerning apple-trees and pear-trees, that the fruit of them would on a sudden wither as if they had been baked in an oven, when the owners of them were mortally sick. It is no less strange that in the illustrious Electoral House of Brandenburg before the death of some one of the family feminine spectres appeared. And often in the houses of great men, voices and visions from the invisible world have been the harbingers of death. When any heir in the worshipful family of the Breertons in Cheshire is near his death, there are seen in a pool adjoining, bodies of trees swimming for certain days together, on which learned Camden has this note, “ These and such like things are done either by the holy tutelar angels of men, or else by the devils, who by God’s permission mightily show their power in this inferior world.” As for Mr. Sinclare’s notion that some persons may have a second sight (as ’tis termed), and yet be themselves innocent, I am satisfied that he judgeth right ; for this is common amongst the Laplanders, who are horribly addicted to magical incantations. They bequeath their dæmons to their children as a legacy, by whom they are often assisted (like bewitched persons as they are) to see and do things beyond the power of nature. An historian who deserves credit relates, that a certain Laplander gave him a

true and particular account of what had happened to him in his journey to Lapland ; and further complained to him with tears, that things at great distance were represented to him, and how much he desired to be delivered from that diabolical sight, but could not ; this doubtless was caused by some enchantment. But to proceed to what I intend ; the eyes of persons, by reason of enchanting charms, may not only see what others do not, but be under such power of fascination, as that things which are not shall appear to them as real. The apostle speaks of bewitched eyes, Gal. iii. 1, and we know from Scripture, that the imaginations of men have by enchantments been imposed upon ; and histories abound with very strange instances of this nature. The old witch Circe by an enchanted cup caused Ulysses his companions to imagine themselves to be turned into swine ; and how many witches have been themselves so bewitched by the devil, as really to believe that they were transformed into wolves, or dogs, or cats. It is reported of Simon Magus, that by his sorceries he would so impose on the imaginations of people, as that they thought he had really changed himself into another sort of creature. Apollonius of Tyana could outdo Simon with his magic. The great Bohemian conjurer Zyto by his enchantments caused certain persons whom he had a mind to try his art upon, to imagine that their hands were turned into the feet of an ox, or into the hoofs of a horse, so that they could not reach to the dishes before them to take any thing thence ; he sold wisps of straw to a butcher who bought them for swine ; that many such prestigious pranks were played by the unhappy Faustus, is at-

tested by Camerarius, Wyerus, Voetius, Lavater, and Lonicer.

There is newly published a book (mentioned in the *Acta Eruditorum*) wherein the author (Wiechard Valvassor) relates, that a Venetian Jew instructed him (only he would not attend his instructions) how to make a magical glass which should represent any person or thing according as he should desire. If a magician by an enchanted glass can do this, he may as well by the help of a dæmon cause false idæas of persons and things to be impressed on the imaginations of bewitched persons ; the blood and spirits of a man, that is bitten with a mad-dog, are so envenomed, as that strange impressions are thereby made on his imagination. Let him be brought into a room where there is a looking-glass, and he will (if put upon it) not only say but swear that he sees a dog, though in truth there is no dog it may be within 20 miles of him ; and is it not then possible for the dogs of hell to poison the imagination of miserable creatures, so as that they shall believe and swear that such persons hurt them as never did so ? I have heard of an enchanted pin, that has caused the condemnation and death of many scores of innocent persons. There was a notorious witchfinder in Scotland, that undertook by a pin, to make an infallible discovery of suspected persons, whether they were witches or not, if when the pin was run an inch or two into the body of the accused party, no blood appeared, nor any sense of pain, then he declared them to be witches ; by means hereof my author tells me no less than 300 persons were condemned for witches in that kingdom. This bloody juggler, after he had done

enough in Scotland, came to the town of Berwick upon Tweed ; an honest man now living in New-England assureth me, that he saw the man thrust a great brass pin two inches into the body of one, that some would in that way try whether there was witchcraft in the case or no : the accused party was not in the least sensible of what was done, and therefore in danger of receiving the punishment justly due for witchcraft ; only it so happened, that Colonel Fenwick (that worthy gentleman, who many years since lived in New-England) was then the military governor in that town ; he sent for the mayor and magistrates advising them to be careful and cautious in their proceedings ; for he told them, it might be an enchanted pin, which the witchfinder made use of : Whereupon the magistrates of the place ordered that he should make his experiment with some other pin as they should appoint : But that he would by no means be induced unto, which was a sufficient discovery of the knavery and witchery of the witchfinder.

FALSE CONFESSIONS OF WITCHES.

[FROM THE SAME.]

I COULD mention dismal instances of innocent blood which has been shed by means of the lies of some confessing witches ; there is a very sad story mentioned in the preface to the relation of the witchcrafts in Sweedland, how that in the year 1676, at Stockholm, a young woman accused her own mother (who had indeed been a very bad woman, but not guilty of

witchcraft), and swore that she had carried her to the nocturnal meetings of witches, upon which the mother was burnt to death. Soon after the daughter came crying and howling before the judges in open court, declaring that to be revenged on her mother for an offence received, she had falsely accused her with a crime which she was not guilty of; for which she also was justly executed. A most wicked man in France freely confessed himself to be a magician, and accused many others, whose lives were thereupon taken from them; and a whole province had like to have been ruined thereby, but the impostor was discovered. The confessing pretended wizard was burnt at Paris in the year 1668. I shall only take notice further of an awful example mentioned by A. B. Spotswood in his *History of Scotland*, p. 449. His words are these: “This summer (viz. Anno 1597), there was a great business for the trial of witches, amongst others, one Margaret Atkin being apprehended on suspicion, and threatened with torture, did confess herself guilty; being examined touching her associates in that trade, she named a few, and perceiving her delations find credit, made offer to detect all of that sort, and to purge the country of them; so she might have her life granted. For the reason of her knowledge, she said, ‘That they had a secret mark all of that sort in their eyes, whereby she could surely tell, how soon she looked upon any, whether they were witches or not’; and in this she was so readily believed, that for the space of 3 or 4 months she was carried from town to town to make discoveries in that kind; many were brought in question by her delations, especially at Glasgow,

where divers innocent women, through the credulity of the minister Mr. John Cowper, were condemned and put to death ; in the end she was found to be a mere deceiver, and sent back to Fife, where she was first apprehended. At her trial she affirmed all to be false that she had confessed of herself or others, and persisted in this to her death, which made many fore-think their too great forwardness that way, and moved the king to recall his commission given out against such persons, discharging all proceedings against them, except in case of a voluntary confession, till a solid order should be taken by the estates touching the form that should be kept in their trial." Thus that famous historian.

2. If two credible persons shall affirm upon oath that they have seen the party accused speaking such words, or doing things which none but such as have familiarity with the devil ever did or can do, that's a sufficient ground for conviction.

Some are ready to say, that wizards are not so unwise as to do such things in the sight or hearing of others, but it is certain that they have very often been known to do so. How often have they been seen by others using enchantments? Conjuring to raise storms? And have been heard calling upon their familiar spirits? And have been known to use spells and charms? And to shew in a glass or in a shew-stone persons absent? And to reveal secrets which could not be discovered but by the devil? And have not men been seen to do things which are above human strength, that no man living could do without diabolical assistances? Claudia was seen by witnesses enough to draw a ship which no

human strength could move. Tuccia a vestal virgin was seen to carry water in a sieve. The devil never assists men to do supernatural things undesired. When therefore such like things shall be testified against the accused party, not by spectres which are devils in the shape of persons either living or dead, but by real men or women who may be credited, it is proof enough that such an one has that conversation and correspondence with the devil, as that he or she, whoever they be, ought to be exterminated from amongst men. This notwithstanding I will add: It were better that ten suspected witches should escape, than that one innocent person should be condemned.

. . . That is an old saying, and true, *Prestat reum nocentem absolvi, quam ex prohibitis Indiciis & illegitima probatione condemnari*. It is better that a guilty person should be absolved, than that he should without sufficient ground of conviction be condemned. I had rather judge a witch to be an honest woman, than judge an honest woman as a witch. The word of God directs men not to proceed to the execution of the most capital offenders, until such time as, upon searching diligently, the matter is *found to be a truth, and the thing certain*, Deut. 13, 14, 15.

COTTON MATHER.

THIS most distinguished of all the Mathers was born in Boston, February 12, 1663, and died there February 13, 1728, surviving his great father, Increase, not quite five years. He was a prodigy of learning from his youth, graduating from Harvard when less than sixteen, and beginning to preach before he was eighteen, but not before he had cured himself from stammering. In 1684 he became an associate pastor with his father in the North Church. Here he did most useful work of a philanthropic nature, combatting intemperance and other social evils. This phase of his career is summed up in his widely read book, *Essays to do Good* (1710). Unfortunately most of his books are written in such a quaint style, and have such fantastic titles, and his chief work, the ecclesiastical history of New England, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), is so monumental a production, that as a writer Cotton Mather has a less reputation among modern readers than he deserves. The chief part of his fame also is far from being based on anything philanthropic. He is best known for the share he took in the persecution of the witches, and while it is most likely that the charges brought against him by his opponents were much exaggerated, it is quite clear that he did not exercise ordinary prudence in his relations with those supposed

to be possessed. He was himself an ascetic who had visions, and he was a pedant scholar who believed firmly in what had been handed down from the past ; in consequence he was quite ready to credit the most marvellous of the stories told about the unfortunate victims of popular frenzy. Till the last he believed confidently that he had done God service in the deplorable affair. It is more to his credit to-day that he was among the earliest and most unflinching advocates of inoculation for smallpox.

It is impossible to do justice here to Mather's complex character. He was very vain, yet from his earliest youth he was trained and trained himself to be self-conscious, and he was always subjected to a great deal of adulation. He had many domestic misfortunes, yet he bore up bravely under them. He was pedantic and fantastic, yet his industry was enormous, and his learning nothing short of colossal. He had many opponents who managed to keep the presidency of Harvard out of his grasp, and to thwart him in many ways, yet, as we have seen, he was one of the earliest of our philanthropists, his example in this respect stimulating Benjamin Franklin himself. But this active man was all the while a visionary who indulged in vigils and fasts to the point of extravagance, and who actually never coughed or washed his hands without a private prayer or pious ejaculation.

As a scholar and writer Cotton Mather was the most celebrated American colonial before the days of Franklin. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and conducted a large correspondence with learned foreigners. His productions, many of them sermons of course, run up to or pass the prodigious number of

four hundred titles, and there are voluminous diaries and treatises by him that are still in manuscript. He has been called, with not a little truth, a “literary behemoth,” but he was also on the whole a great writer whose *Magnalia* is the most important work of its epoch, and many of whose minor writings may be read with interest and profit, especially the quaint *Parentator* (1724), in which he described the life of his father, and *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), his chief contribution to the literature of the witchcraft delusion. His son, Samuel, wrote a very dull life of him in 1729, but he has been fortunate in finding in Professor Barrett Wendell a most sympathetic and competent biographer.

THE ORIGIN OF WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND.

[FROM “THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.”
1693.]

WE have been advised by some credible Christians yet alive, that a malefactor, accused of witchcraft as well as murder, and executed in this place more than forty years ago, did then give notice of an horrible plot against the country by witchcraft, and a foundation of witchcraft then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered would probably blow up and pull down all the churches in the country. And we have now with horror seen the discovery of such a witchcraft! An army of devils is horribly broke in upon the place which is the centre, and, after a sort,

the first-born of our English settlements ; and the houses of the good people there are fill'd with the doleful shrieks of their children and servants, tormented by invisible hands, with tortures altogether preternatural. After the mischiefs there endeavored, and since in part conquered, the terrible plague, of evil angels, hath made its progress into some other places, where other persons have been in like manner diabolically handled. These our poor afflicted neighbors, quickly after they become infected and infested with these dæmons, arrive to a capacity of discerning those which they conceive the shapes of their troublers ; and notwithstanding the great and just suspicion, that the dæmons might impose the shapes of innocent persons in their spectral exhibitions upon the sufferers (which may perhaps prove no small part of the witch-plot in the issue), yet many of the persons thus represented being examined, several of them have been convicted of a very damnable witchcraft. Yea, more than one twenty have confessed that they have signed unto a book which the devil show'd them, and engaged in his hellish design of bewitching and ruining our land. We know not, at least I know not, how far the delusions of Satan may be interwoven into some circumstances of the confessions ; but one would think all the rules of understanding human affairs are at an end, if after so many most voluntary harmonious confessions, made by intelligent persons of all ages, in sundry towns, at several times, we must not believe the main strokes wherein those confessions all agree ; especially when we have a thousand preternatural things every day before our eyes, wherein the confessors do acknowledge their

concernment, and give demonstration of their being so concerned. If the devils now can strike the minds of men with any poisons of so fine a composition and operation, that scores of innocent people shall unite in confessions of a crime which we see actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the wonders of the former ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of dissolution upon the world. Now, by these confessions 'tis agreed that the devil has made a dreadful knot of witches in the country, and by the help of witches has dreadfully increased that knot ; that these witches have driven a trade commissioning their confederate spirits, to do all sorts of mischiefs to the neighbors, whereupon there have ensued such mischievous consequences upon the bodies and estates of the neighborhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for. Yea, that at prodigious witch-meetings, the wretches have proceeded so far as to concert and consult the methods of rooting out the Christian religion from this country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross diabolism than ever the world saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of miracle, if in so spread a business as this, the devil should not get in some of his juggles to confound the discovery of all the rest. . . .

CONCERNING THE DEVIL.

[FROM A DISCOURSE ON “THE WONDERS OF THE
INVISIBLE WORLD.” UTTERED (IN PART) ON
AUGUST 4, 1692. PRINTED IN THE ABOVE.]

THAT there is a devil, is a thing doubted by none but such as are under the influences of the devil. For any to deny the being of a devil must be from an ignorance or profaneness, worse than diabolical. A devil. What is that? We have a definition of the monster, in Eph. vi. 12. A spiritual wickedness, that is, a wicked spirit. A devil is a fallen angel, an angel fallen from the fear and love of God, and from all celestial glories; but fallen to all manner of wretchedness and cursedness. He was once in that order of heavenly creatures which God in the beginning made ministering spirits, for his own peculiar service and honor, in the management of the universe; but we may now write that epitaph upon him, “How art thou fallen from heaven! thou hast said in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; but thou art brought down to hell!” A devil is a spiritual and rational substance, by his apostacy from God inclined unto all that is vicious, and for that apostacy confined unto the atmosphere of this earth, in chains unto darkness, unto the judgment of the great day. This is a devil; and the experience of mankind, as well as the testimony of Scripture, does abundantly prove the existence of such a devil. . . .

First, then, 'tis to be granted; the devils are so

many, that some thousands can sometimes at once apply themselves to vex one child of man. It is said, in Mark v. 15, he that was possessed with the devil had the legion. Dreadful to be spoken ! A legion consisted of twelve thousand five hundred people ; and we see that in one man or two, so many devils can be spared for a garrison. As the prophet cried out, “ Multitudes, multitudes, in the Valley of Decision ! ” So I say, there are multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of destruction, where the devils are ! When we speak of the devil, ’tis a name of multitude ; it means not one individual devil, so potent and scient, as perhaps a Manichee would imagine ; but it means a kind which a multitude belongs unto. Alas, the devils they swarm about us, like the frogs of Egypt, in the most retired of our chambers. Are we at our boards ? There will be devils to tempt us unto sensuality. Are we in our beds ? There will be devils to tempt us unto carnality. Are we in our shops ? There will be devils to tempt us unto dishonesty. Yea, though we get into the church of God, there will be devils to haunt us in the very temple itself, and there tempt us to manifold misbehaviors. I am verily persuaded that there are very few human affairs whereinto some devils are not insinuated. There is not so much as a journey intended, but Satan will have an hand in hindering or furthering of it.

Secondly, ’Tis to be supposed, that there is a sort of arbitrary, even military government, among the devils. This is intimated, when in Mar. v. 9, the unclean spirit said, “ My name is Legion.” They are such a discipline as legions use to be. Hence we

read about the prince of the powers of the air. Our air has a power? or an army of devils in the high places of it; and these devils have a prince over them, who is king over the children of pride. 'Tis probable that the devil, who was the ringleader of that mutinous and rebellious crew which first shook off the authority of God, is now the general of those hellish armies; our Lord that conquered him has told us the name of him; 'tis Belzebub; 'tis he that is the devil and the rest are his angels, or his soldiers. Think on vast regiments of cruel and bloody French dragoons, with an intendant over them, overrunning a pillaged neighborhood, and you will think a little what the constitution among the devils is.

Thirdly, 'tis to be supposed that some devils are more peculiarly commission'd, and perhaps qualify'd, for some countries, while others are for others. This is intimated when in Mar. v. 10, the devils besought our Lord much, that he would not send them away out of the country. Why was that? But in all probability, because these devils were more able to do the work of the devil, in such a country, than in another. It is not likely that every devil does know every language; or that every devil can do every mischief. 'Tis possible that the experience, or, if I may call it so, the education of all devils is not alike, and that there may be some difference in their abilities. If one might make an inference from what the devils do, to what they are, one cannot forbear dreaming that there are degrees of devils. Who can allow that such trifling dæmons, as that of Mascon, or those that once infested our Newberry, are of so much grandeur, as those dæmons, whose games are mighty

kingdoms? Yea, 'tis certain, that all devils do not make a like figure in the invisible world. Nor does it look agreeably that the dæmons, which were the familiars of such a man as the old Apollonius, differ not from those baser goblins that choose to nest in the filthy and loathsome rags of a beastly sorceress. Accordingly, why may not some devils be more accomplished for what is to be done in such and such places, when others must be detach'd for other territories? Each devil, as he sees his advantage, cries out, "Let me be in this coutry, rather than another." But enough, if not too much, of these things. . . .

SOME OF THE EVIDENCE AT THE WITCH TRIALS.

[FROM THE SAME.]

FROM THE TRIAL OF GEORGE BURROUGHS.

GLAD should I have been if I had never known the name of this man ; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first letters of his name. But the government requiring some account of his trial to be inserted in this book, it becomes me with all obedience to submit unto the order.

This G. B. was indicted for witch-craft, and in the prosecution of the charge against him he was accused by five or six of the bewitched, as the author of their miseries ; he was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvouzes, and one who had the promise

of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected. He was accused by nine persons for extraordinary lifting, and such feats of strength as could not be done without a diabolical assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about thirty testimonies were brought in against him ; nor were these judg'd the half of what might have been considered for his conviction. However they were enough to fix the character of a witch upon him according to the rules of reasoning, by the judicious Gaule, in that case directed. . . .

The testimonies of the other sufferers concurred with these ; and it was remarkable that, whereas biting was one of the ways which the witches used for the vexing of the sufferers, when they cry'd out of G. B. biting them, the print of the teeth would be seen on the flesh of the complainers, and just such a set of teeth as G. B.'s would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other men's. Others of them testified that in their torments G. B. tempted them to go unto a sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a sound of trumpet summoning of other witches, who quickly after the sound would come from all quarters unto the rendezvous. One of them falling into a kind of trance affirmed that G. B. had carried her away into a very high mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious kingdoms, and said, " He would give them all to her, if she would write in his book " ; but she told him, " They were none of his to give " ; and refused the motions ; enduring of much misery for that refusal.

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of trouble, to hear the testimonies of the sufferers ; for when they

were going to give in their depositions, they would for a long time be taken with fits that made them incapable of saying any thing. The chief judge asked the prisoner, who he thought hindered these witnesses from giving their testimonies. And he answered, "He supposed it was the devil." That honorable person replied, "How comes the devil then to be so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" Which cast him into very great confusion. . . .

Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their testimony, that they had been troubled with the apparitions of two women, who said that they were G. B.'s two wives, and that he had been the death of them; and that the magistrates must be told of it, before whom if B. upon his trial denied it, that they did not know but that they should appear again in court. Now G. B. had been infamous for the barbarous usage of his two late wives, all the country over. Moreover, it was testified, the spectre of G. B. threatening of the sufferers told them he had killed (besides others) Mrs. Lawson and her daughter Ann. And it was noted, that these were the virtuous wife and daughter of one at whom this G. B. might have a prejudice for his being serviceable at Salem Village, from whence himself had in ill terms removed some years before; and that when they died, which was long since, there were some odd circumstances about them, which made some of the attendants there suspect something of witch-craft, though none imagined from what quarter it should come.

Well, G. B. being now upon his trial, one of

the bewitched persons was cast into horror at the ghost of B's two deceased wives then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance against him. Hereupon several of the bewitched persons were successively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their horror of the apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly deny'd that he discern'd any thing of it ; nor was it any part of his conviction. . . .

A famous divine recites this among the convictions of a witch : " The testimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying ; together with the joint oaths of sufficient persons that have seen certain prodigious pranks or feats wrought by the party accused." Now, God had been pleased so to leave this G. B. that he had ensnared himself by several instances, which he had formerly given of a preternatural strength, and which were now produced against him. He was a very puny man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a giant. A gun of about seven foot barrel, and so heavy that strong men could not steadily hold it out with both hands ; there were several testimonies, given in by persons of credit and honor, that he made nothing of taking up such a gun behind the lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a pistol at arms-end. G. B. in his vindication was so foolish as to say, " That an Indian was there, and held it out at the same time." Whereas none of the spectators ever saw any such Indian ; but they supposed, the " Black Man " (as the witches call the devil ; and they generally say he resembles an Indian) might give him

that assistance. There was evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole barrels fill'd with molasses or cider in very disadvantageous postures and carrying of them through the difficultest places out of a canoe to the shore.

Yea, there were two testimonies, that G. B. with only putting the forefinger of his right hand into the muzzle of an heavy gun, a fowling-piece of about six or seven foot barrel, did lift up the gun, and hold it out at arms-end; a gun which the deponents thought strong men could not with both hands lift up and hold out at the butt-end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these witnesses was over-persuaded by some persons to be out of the way upon G. B.'s trial; but he came afterwards with sorrow for his withdraw[al], and gave in his testimony. Nor were either of these witnesses made use of as evidences in the trial. . . .

Faltering, faulty, unconstant, and contrary answers upon judicial and deliberate examination, are counted some unlucky symptoms of guilt, in all crimes, especially in witchcrafts. Now there never was a prisoner more eminent for them than G. B. both at his examination and on his trial. His tergiversations, contradictions, and falsehoods were very sensible. He had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, reflecting upon the reputation of some of the witnesses.

Only he gave in a paper to the jury; wherein, although he had many times before granted, not only that there are witches, but also that the present sufferings of the country are the effects of horrible witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, "That there

neither are, nor ever were witches, that having made a compact with the devil can send a devil to torment other people at a distance." This paper was transcribed out of Ady; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a gentleman gave him the discourse in a manuscript, from whence he transcribed it.

The jury brought him in guilty. But when he came to die, he utterly denied the fact whereof he had been thus convicted.

FROM THE TRIAL OF BRIDGET BISHOP.

To crown all, John Bly and William Bly testified that being employed by Bridget Bishop to help to take down the cellar wall of the old house wherein she formerly lived; they did in holes of the said old wall find several puppets, made up of rags and hogs-bristles, with headless pins in them, the points being outward; whereof she could give no account to the court that was reasonable or tolerable. . . .

There was one very strange thing more with which the court was newly entertained. As this woman was under a guard, passing by the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem, she gave a look towards the house, and immediately a daemon invisibly entering the meeting-house, tore down a part of it; so that though there was no person to be seen there, yet the people at the noise, running in, found a board, which was strongly fastened with several nails, transported into another corner of the house.

FROM THE TRIAL OF ELIZABETH HOW.

Here was likewise a cluster of depositions that Mr. Isaac Cummings, refusing to lend his mare unto the husband of Mrs. How, the mare was within a day or two taken in a strange condition. The beast seemed much abused, being bruised as if she had been running over the rocks, and marked where the bridle went, as if burnt with a red-hot bridle. Moreover, one using a pipe of tobacco for the cure of the beast, a blue flame issued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the roof of the barn, and had like to have set the barn on fire. And the mare died very suddenly.

FROM THE TRIAL OF MARTHA CARRIER.

Martha Carrier was indicted for the bewitching certain persons, according to the form usual in such cases pleading not guilty to her indictment; there were first brought in a considerable number of the bewitched persons; who not only made the court sensible of a horrid witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed that it was Martha Carrier or her shape that grievously tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching and choking of them. It was further deposed that while this Carrier was on her examination before the magistrates, the poor people were so tortured that every one expected their death upon the very spot, but that upon the binding of Carrier they were eased. Moreover the look of Carrier then laid the afflicted people for dead; and

her touch, if her eye at the same time were off them, raised them again. Which things were also now seen upon her trial. And it was testified, that upon the mention of some having their necks twisted almost round by the shape of this Carrier, she replied, “It’s no matter though their necks had been twisted quite off.”

Before the trial of this prisoner several of her own children had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were witches themselves, but that this their mother had made them so. This confession they made with great shews of repentance, and with much demonstration of truth. They related place, time, occasion ; they gave an account of journeys, meetings and mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless, this evidence was not produced against the prisoner at the bar, inasmuch as there was other evidence enough to proceed upon. . . .

Allin Toothaker testify’d that Richard, the son of Martha Carrier, having some difference with him, pull’d him down by the hair of the head. When he rose again he was going to strike at Richard Carrier ; but fell down flat on his back to the ground and had not power to stir hand or foot, until he told Carrier he yielded ; and then he saw the shape of Martha Carrier go off his breast.

This Toothaker had received a wound in the wars ; and he now testify’d that Martha Carrier told him he should never be cured. Just afore the apprehending of Carrier, he could thrust a knitting needle into his wound, four inches deep ; but presently after her being seized, he was thoroughly healed. . . .

One Foster, who confessed her own share in the witchcraft for which the prisoner stood indicted, affirmed that she had seen the prisoner at some of their witch meetings, and that it was this Carrier, who persuaded her to be a witch. She confess'd, that the devil carry'd them on a pole to a witch-meeting ; but the pole broke, and she hanging about Carrier's neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the fall whereof she was not at this very time recovered. . . .

In the time of this prisoner's trial, one Susanna Sheldon in open court had her hands unaccountably ty'd together with a wheel-band, so fast that without cutting it could not be loosed. It was done by a spectre ; and the sufferer affirm'd it was the prisoner's.

Memorandum. This rampant hag, Martha Carrier, was the person, of whom the confessions of the witches, and of her own children among the rest, agreed, that the devil had promised her she should be Queen of Hell.

A COLONIAL MUNICIPAL REFORMER.

[FROM "THE BOSTONIAN EBENEZER," DELIVERED
APRIL 7, 1698.]

. . . INFANT-BOSTON, thou hast those whom the Bible calls *nursing-fathers*. Oh, be not froward, as thou art in thy treating of thy nurses ; but give thanks to God for them. I forget my self ; 'tis with the fathers themselves that I am concerned.

When it was demanded of Demosthenes, what it was that so long preserved Athens in a flourishing

state, he made this answer: "The orators are men of learning and wisdom, the magistrates do justice, the citizens love quiet, and the laws are kept among them all." May Boston flourish in such happy order!

And first, you may assure yourselves that the MINISTERS of the Lord Jesus Christ among you will be joyful to approve themselves, as the Book of God has called them, "The helpers of your joy." O our dear flocks, we owe you our all; all our love, all our strength, all our time; we watch for you as those that must give an account; and I am very much mistaken if we are not willing to *die* for you, too, if called unto it. If our Lord Jesus Christ should say to us, "My servant, if you'll die to-night, you shall have this reward: the people that you preach to shall be all converted unto me!" I think we should with triumphing souls reply, "Ah! Lord, then I'll die with all my heart." Sirs, we should go away "rejoycing with joy unspeakable and full of glory." I am satisfied that the most furious and foul-mouthed reviler that God may give any of us to be buffeted withal, if he will but come to sober thoughts, he will say, That there is not any one man in the town, but the ministers wish that man as well as they do their own souls, and would gladly serve that man by day or by night, in any thing that it were possible to do for him. Wherefore, O our beloved people, I beseech you leave off, leave off to throw stones at your Ebenezers. Instead of that, *pray for us*, and "strive together with us in your prayers to God for us." Then with the help of Christ we'll promise you we will set our selves to

observe what special *truths* may be most needful to be inculcated upon you, and we will inculcate them. We will set our selves to observe the *temptations* that beset you, the *afflictions* that assault you, and the *duties* that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate our selves unto them. We will set our selves to observe what souls among you do call for our more particular addresses, and we will address them faithfully, and even *travel in birth* for them. Nor will we give over praying, and fasting, and crying to our great LORD for you until you die. Whatever other helpers the town enjoys, they shall have that convenience in Ezra v. 2, "With them were the prophets of God, helping them." . . .

And now will the JUSTICES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to suppress all growing vices among us?

Will the CONSTABLES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to prevent all evil orders among us?

There are some who have the eye of the town so much upon them, that the very name of TOWNS-MEN is that by which they are distinguished. Sirs, will you also consider how to help the affairs of the town, so as that all things may go well among us?

Moreover, may not SCHOOL-MASTERS do much to instil principles of religion and civility, as well as other points of good education, into the children of the town? Only let the town well encourage its well-deserving school-masters.

There are some officers; but concerning *all*, there are these two things to be desired: First, it is to be desired that such officers as are chosen among us,

may be chosen in the fear of God. May none but pious and prudent men, and such as *love* the town, be chosen to serve it. And, secondly, it is to be desired that officers of several sorts would often come together for consultation. Each of the sorts by themselves, may they often come together to consult, “What shall we do to serve the town in those interests which are committed unto our charge?” Oh! what a deplorable thing will it be for persons to be entrusted with talents, (your opportunities to serve the town are so many talents!) and they never seriously consider, “What good shall I do with my talents in the place where God hath stationed me?”

And will the REPRESENTATIVES of the town be considered among the rest, as entrusted with some singular advantages for our help? The Lord give you understanding in all things!

. . . But beware, I beseech you, of those provoking evils that may expose us to a plague, exceeding all that are in the catalogue of the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy. Let me go on to say, What! shall there be any bawdy-houses in such a town as this! It may be the neighbours, that could smoke them, and rout them, if they would, are loth to stir, for fear of being reputed ill neighbours. But I say unto you, that you are ill neighbours because you do it not. All the neighbours are like to have their children and servants poisoned, and their dwellings laid in ashes, because you do it not. And, Oh! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable *regulation*. The town has an *enormous number* of them; will the *haunters* of those houses hear the counsels of Heaven? For you that are the town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits

of the *ordinary*, 'twill certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary. I have seen certain taverns, where the pictures of horrible devourers were hanged out for the signs; and, thought I, 'twere well if such signs were not sometimes too *significant*: alas, men have their estates *devoured*, their names *devoured*, their hours *devoured*, and their very souls *devoured*, when they are so besotted that they are not in their element, except they be tipling at such houses. When once a man is bewitched with the ordinary, what usually becomes of him? He is a gone man; and when he comes to die, he will cry out, as many have done, "Ale-houses are hell-houses! ale-houses are hell-houses!" But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. "Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day!" It is an *honest*, and a *lawful*, though it may not be a very *desirable* employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man, in 3 John 2 "Thy soul prospereth." O let it not be said of you, since you are fallen into this employment, "Thy soul withereth!" It is thus with too many: especially, when they that get a license perhaps to sell drink out of doors, do stretch their license to sell within doors. Those private houses, when once a professor of the gospel comes to *steal* a living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into an abundance of wretchedness and confusion. But I pray God assist you that keep ordinaries, to keep the commandments of God in them. There

was an Inn at Bethlehem where the Lord JESUS CHRIST was to be met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, “there is no room for him in the Inn!” . . .

Furthermore, What *changes* have we seen in point of possessions? If some that are now *rich* were once *low* in the world, 'tis possible, more that were once *rich* are now brought very *low*. Ah! Boston, thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses, and seventy of thy ware-houses, in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in fiery characters. And an huge *fleet* of thy vessels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miscarried in the late war, has given thee to read more of it. Here is one petition more to be made unto our God: “Lord, help us to ensure a better and a lasting substance in heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away.”

In fine, how dreadfully have the *young people* of Boston perished under the *judgments* of God! A renowned writer among the Pagans could make this remark: there was a town so irreligious and atheistical, that they did not pay their first fruits unto God; (which the *light of nature* taught the Pagans to do!) and, says he, they were by a sudden desolation so strangely destroyed, that there were no remainders either of the persons, or of the houses, to be seen any more. Ah, my young folks, there are few first-fruits paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass, that the consuming wrath of God is every day upon you. New-England has been like a *tottering house*, the very founda-

tions of it have been shaking ; but the house thus oversetting by the whirlwinds of the wrath of God, hath been like Job's house : " It falls upon the young men, and they are dead ! " The disasters on our young folks have been so multiplied, that there are few parents among us but what will go with wounded hearts down unto their graves : their daily moans are, " Ah, my son, cut off in his youth ! My son, my son ! " Behold then the *help* that we are to ask of our God ; and why do we, with no more days of prayer with fasting, ask it ? " Lord, help the young people of Boston to remember thee in the days of their youth, and satisfy unto the survivors the terrible things that have come upon so many of that generation. "

And now as Joshua, having reasoned with his people a little before he died, in Josh. xxiv. 26, 27, " took a great *stone*, and set it up, and said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God ; " thus we have been this day setting up a *STONE*, even an Ebenezer, among you ; and I conclude, earnestly testifying unto you, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto you, that the Lord JESUS CHRIST has been a good Lord unto you, and if you seek him, he will be still found of you ; but if you forsake him, he will cast you off for ever.

HIS PURPOSES IN WRITING THE
MAGNALIA.

[FROM THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE
“MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA.” 1702.]

I WRITE the wonders of the christian religion, flying from the depravations of Europe, to the American strand : and, assisted by the Holy Author of that religion, I do, with all conscience of truth required therein by him, who is the truth itself, report the wonderful displays of his infinite power, wisdom, goodness, and faithfulness, wherewith his Divine Providence hath irradiated an Indian wilderness.

I relate the considerable matters that produced and attended the first settlement of colonies, which have been renowned for the degree of reformation, professed and attained by evangelical churches, erected in those ends of the earth : and a field being thus prepared, I proceed unto a relation of the considerable matters which have been acted thereupon.

I first introduce the actors that have, in a more exemplary manner, served those colonies ; and give remarkable occurrences, in the exemplary lives of many magistrates, and of more ministers, who so lived, as to leave unto posterity examples worthy of everlasting remembrance.

I add hereunto the notables of the only Protestant University, that even shone in that hemisphere of the New World ; with particular instances of Criolians, in our biography, provoking the whole world with virtuous objects of emulation.

I introduce, then, the actions of a more eminent importance that have signalized those colonies : whether the establishments, directed by their synods, with a rich variety of synodical and ecclesiastical determinations ; or, the disturbances, with which they have been from all sorts of temptations and enemies tempestuated ; and the methods by which they have still weathered out each horrible tempest.

And into the midst of these actions, I interpose an entire book, wherein there is, with all possible veracity, a collection made of memorable occurrences ; and amazing judgments and mercies, befalling many particular persons among the people of New England.

Let my readers expect all that I have promised them, in this bill of fare ; and it may be that they will find themselves entertained with yet many other passages, above and beyond their expectations, deserving likewise a room in history : in all which, there will be nothing but the author's too mean way of preparing so great entertainments, to reproach the invitation.

THE LEARNED MRS. BRADSTREET.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK I.]

BUT when I mention the poetry of this gentleman [Gov. Thomas Dudley] as one of his accomplishments, I must not leave unmentioned the fame with which the poems of one descended from him have been celebrated in both Englands. If the rare learn-

ing of a daughter, was not the least of those bright things that adorned no less a judge of England than Sir Thomas More ; it must now be said, that a judge of New England, namely, Thomas Dudley, Esq. had a daughter (besides other children) to be a crown unto him. Reader, America justly admires the learned women of the other hemisphere. She has heard of those that were tutoresses to the old professors of all philosophy : she hath heard of Hippatia, who formerly taught the liberal arts ; and of Sarocchia, who more lately was very often the moderatrix in the disputations of the learned men of Rome : She has been told of the three Corinnæs, which equalled, if not excelled, the most celebrated poets of their time : She has been told of the Empress Eudocia, who composed poetical paraphrases on divers parts of the Bible : and of Rosuida, who wrote the lives of holy men ; and of Pamphilia, who wrote other histories unto the life : the writings of the most renowned Anna Maria Schurnian, have come over unto her. But she now prays, that into such catalogues of authoresses, as Beverovicus, Hottinger, and Voetius, have given unto the world, there may be a room now given unto Madam ANN BRADSTREET, the daughter of our governor Dudley, and the consort of our governor Bradstreet, whose poems, divers times printed, have afforded a grateful entertainment unto the ingenious, and a monument for her memory beyond the stateliest marbles. It was upon these poems that an ingenious person bestowed this epigram : —

Now I believe tradition, which doth call
The Muses virtues, graces, females all.
Only they are not nine, eleven, or three ;

Our auth'ress proves them but an unity.
Mankind, take up some blushes on the score ;
Monopolize perfection hence no more.
In your own arts confess yourselves outdone ;
The moon hath totally eclips'd the sun :
Not with her sable mantle muffing him,
But her bright silver makes his gold look dim :
Just as his beams force our pale lamps to wink,
And earthly fires within their ashes shrink.

A TALE OF MUTINY AND TREASURE- TROVE.

[FROM THE SAME. THE LIFE OF SIR WM. PHIPS.]

. . . BEING thus of the true temper for doing of great things, he betakes himself to the sea, the right scene for such things ; and upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahamas, he took a voyage thither ; but with little more success than what just served him a little to furnish him for a voyage to England ; whither he went in a vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their first coin, with these words about it : *Incertum quo Fata ferant*. Having first informed himself that there was another Spanish wreck, wherein was lost a mighty treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong impression upon his mind that he must be the discoverer ; and he made such representations of his design at White-Hall, that by the year 1683 he became the captain of a king's ship, and arrived at New-England commander of the *Algier-Rose*, a frigate of eighteen guns and ninety-five men.

To relate all the dangers through which he passed,

both by sea and land, and all the tiresome trials of his patience, as well as of his courage, while year after year the most vexing accidents imaginable delayed the success of his design, it would even tire the patience of the reader ; for very great was the experiment that Captain Phips made of the Italian observation, “ He that cannot suffer both good and evil, will never come to any great preferment.” Wherefore I shall supersede all journal of his voyages to and fro, with reciting one incident of his conduct, that showed him to be a person of no contemptible capacity. While he was captain of the *Algier-Rose*, his men growing weary of their unsuccessful enterprise, made a mutiny, wherein they approached him on the quarter-deck, with drawn swords in their hands, and required him to join with them in running away with the ship, to drive a trade of piracy on the South Seas. Captain Phips, though he had not so much of a weapon as an ox-goad, or a jaw-bone in his hands, yet, like another Shamgar or Samson, with a most undaunted fortitude, he rushed in upon them, and with the blows of his bare hands felled many of them, and quelled all the rest.

But this is not the instance which I intended ; that which I intend is, that (as it has been related unto me) one day while his frigate lay careening, at a desolate Spanish island, by the side of a rock, from whence they had laid a bridge to the shore, the men, whereof he had about an hundred, went all but about eight or ten to divert themselves, as they pretended, in the woods ; where they all entered into an agreement, which they signed in a ring, that about seven o'clock that evening they would seize the captain,

and those eight or ten which they knew to be true unto him, and leave them to perish on this island, and so be gone away unto the South Sea to seek their fortune. Will the reader now imagine that Captain Phips, having advice of this plot but about an hour and a half before it was to be put in execution, yet within two hours brought all these rogues down upon their knees to beg for their lives? But so it was! for these knaves considering that they should want a carpenter with them in their villainous expedition, sent a messenger to fetch unto them the carpenter, who was then at work upon the vessel; and unto him they shewed their articles; telling him what he must look for if he did not subscribe among them. The carpenter, being an honest fellow, did with much importunity prevail for one half hour's time to consider of the matter; and returning to work upon the vessel, with a spy by them set upon him, he feigned himself taken with a fit of the cholic, for the relief whereof he suddenly run unto the captain in the great cabin for a dram; where, when he came, his business was only, in brief, to tell the captain of the horrible distress which he was fallen into; but the captain bid him as briefly return to the rogues in the woods, and sign their articles, and leave him to provide for the rest. The carpenter was no sooner gone but Captain Phips, calling together the few friends (it may be seven or eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would stand by him in the extremity which he informed them was now come upon him; whereto they replied, "They would stand by him, if he could save them;" and

he answered, “By the help of God he did not fear it.” All their provisions had been carried ashore to a tent, made for that purpose there ; about which they had placed several great guns to defend it, in case of any assault from Spaniards, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain Phips immediately ordered those guns to be silently drawn and turned ; and so pulling up the bridge, he charged his great guns aboard, and brought them to bear on every side of the tent. By this time the army of rebels comes out of the woods ; but as they drew near to the tent of provisions, they saw such a change of circumstances, that they cried out, “We are betrayed !” And they were soon confirmed in it, when they heard the captain with a stern fury call to them, “Stand off, ye wretches, at your peril !” He quickly saw them cast into a more than ordinary confusion, when they saw him ready to fire his great guns upon them, if they offered one step further than he permitted them ; and when he had signified unto them his resolve to abandon them unto all the desolation which they had purposed for him, he caused the bridge to be again laid, and his men begun to take the provisions aboard. When the wretches beheld what was coming upon them, they fell to very humble entreaties ; and at last fell down upon their knees, protesting, “That they never had anything against him, except only his unwillingness to go away with the king’s ship upon the South-Sea design ; but upon all other accounts they would choose rather to live and die with him than with any man in the world. However, since they saw how much he was dissatisfied at it, they would insist upon it no more,

and humbly begged his pardon." And when he judged that he had kept them on their knees long enough, he having first secured their arms, received them aboard ; but he immediately weighed anchor, and arriving at Jamaica, he turned them off.

THE SUNKEN TREASURE SHIP.

[FROM THE SAME.]

Now, with a small company of other men he sailed from thence to Hispaniola, where, by the policy of his address, he fished out of a very old Spaniard (or Portuguese) a little advice about the true spot where lay the wreck which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously as the chymists have their aurisic stone ; that it was upon a reef of shoals, a few leagues to the northward of Port de la Plata, upon Hispaniola, a port so called, it seems, from the landing of some of the shipwrecked company, with a boat full of plate, saved out of their sinking frigate ; nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the spot, whereof the old Spaniard had advised him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such thorns did vex his affairs while he was in the Rose-frigate ; but none of all these things could retund the edge of his expectations to find the wreck ; with such expectations he returned then into England, that he might there better furnish himself to prosecute a new discovery ; for though he judged he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right spot ; yet he found his present company too ill a crew to be confided in.

So proper was his behaviour, that the best noblemen in the kingdom now admitted him into their conversation ; but yet he was opposed by powerful enemies, that clogged his affairs with such demurrages, and such disappointments, as would have wholly discouraged his designs, if his patience had not been invincible. “He who can wait hath what he desireth.” Thus his indefatigable patience, with a proportionable diligence, at length overcame the difficulties that had been thrown in his way ; and prevailing with the Duke of Albemarle, and some other persons of quality, to fit him out, he set sail for the fishing-ground, which had been so well baited half an hundred years before ; and as he had already discovered his capacity for business in many considerable actions, he now added unto those discoveries, by not only providing all, but also by inventing many of the instruments necessary to the prosecution of his intended fishery. Captain Phips arriving with a ship and a tender at Port de la Plata, made a stout canoe of a stately cotton-tree, so large as to carry eight or ten oars, for the making of which periaga (as they call it) he did, with the same industry that he did every thing else, employ his own hand and adse, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the woods many nights together. This periaga, with the tender, being anchored at a place convenient, the periaga kept busking to and again, but could only discover a reef of rising shoals thereabouts, called “The Boilers,” — which, rising to be within two or three foot of the surface of the sea, were yet so steep, that a ship striking on them would immediately sink down, who could say how many fathom, into the ocean ? Here

they could get no other pay for their long peeping among the boilers, but only such as caused them to think upon returning to their captain with the bad news of their total disappointment. Nevertheless, as they were upon the return, one of the men, looking over the side of the *periaga*, into the calm water, he spied a sea feather, growing, as he judged, out of a rock ; whereupon they bade one of their Indians to dive, and fetch this feather, that they might, however, carry home something with them, and make, at least, as fair a triumph as Caligula's. The diver bringing up the feather, brought therewithal a surprising story, that he perceived a number of great guns in the watery world where he had found his feather ; the report of which great guns exceedingly astonished the whole company ; and at once turned their despondencies for their ill success into assurances, that they had now lit upon the true spot of ground which they had been looking for ; and they were further confirmed in these assurances, when, upon further diving, the Indian fetched up a sow, as they styled it, or a lump of silver worth perhaps two or three hundred pounds. Upon this they prudently buoyed the place, that they might readily find it again ; and they went back unto their captain, whom for some while they distressed with nothing but such bad news as they formerly thought they must have carried him. Nevertheless, they so slipt in the sow of silver on one side under the table, where they were now sitting with the captain, and hearing him express his resolutions to wait still patiently upon the providence of God under these disappointments, that when he should look on one side, he might see that odd thing

before him. At last he saw it ; seeing it, he cried out with some agony, “ Why ! what is this ? whence comes this ? ” And then, with changed countenances, they told him how and where they got it. “ Then,” said he, “ thanks be to God ! we are made ; ” and so away they went, all hands to work ; wherein they had this one further piece of remarkable prosperity, that whereas if they had first fallen upon that part of the Spanish wreck where the pieces of eight had been stowed in bags among the ballast, they had seen a more laborious, and less enriching time of it ; now, most happily, they first fell upon that room in the wreck where the bullion had been stored up ; and they so prospered in this new fishery, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any man’s life, brought up thirty-two tuns of silver ; for it was now come to measuring of silver by tuns. Besides which, one Adderly, of Providence, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain Phips in the search of this wreck, did, upon former agreement, meet him now with a little vessel here ; and he, with his few hands, took up about six tuns of silver ; whereof, nevertheless, he made so little use, that in a year or two he died at Bermudas, and, as I have heard, he ran distracted some while before he died.

Thus did there once again come into the light of the sun a treasure which had been half an hundred years groaning under the waters ; and in this time there was grown upon the plate a crust like limestone, to the thickness of several inches ; which crust being broken open by iron contrived for that purpose, they knocked out whole bushels of rusty pieces of eight which were grown thereinto. Besides that incredible

treasure of plate in various forms, thus fetched up, from seven or eight fathom under water, there were vast riches of gold, and pearls and jewels, which they also lit upon ; and, indeed, for a more comprehensive invoice, I must but summarily say, “ All that a Spanish frigate uses to be enriched withal.” Thus did they continue fishing till, their provisions failing them, ’twas time to be gone ; but before they went, Captain Phips caused Adderly and his folk to swear that they would none of them discover the place of the wreck, or come to the place any more till the next year, when he expected again to be there himself. And it was also remarkable that though the sows came up still so fast, that on the very last day of their being there they took up twenty, yet it was afterwards found that they had in a manner wholly cleared that room of the ship where those massy things were stowed.

But there was one extraordinary distress which Captain Phips now found himself plunged into ; for his men were come out with him upon seamen’s wages, at so much per month ; and when they saw such vast litters of silver sows and pigs, as they called them, come on board them at the captain’s call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not share all among themselves, and be gone to lead “ a short life and a merry,” in a climate where the arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them. In this terrible distress he made his vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to England, with what he had now given him, “ to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands,” he would forever devote himself unto the

interests of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his people, especially in the country which he did himself originally belong unto. And he then used all the obliging arts imaginable to make his men true unto him, especially by assuring them that, besides their wages, they should have ample requitals made unto them; which if the rest of his employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his own share among them. Relying upon the word of one whom they had ever found worthy of their love, and of their trust, they declared themselves content; but still keeping a most careful eye upon them, he hastened back for England with as much money as he thought he could then safely trust his vessel withal; not counting it safe to supply himself with necessary provisions at any nearer port, and so return unto the wreck, by which delays he wisely feared lest all might be lost, more ways than one. Though he also left so much behind him, that many from divers parts made very considerable voyages of gleanings after his harvest; which came to pass by certain Bermudians compelling of Adderly's boy, whom they spirited away with them to tell them the exact place where the wreck was to be found.

THE INCARNATED WONDERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

[FROM THE SAME.]

WHEN Toxaris met with his countryman Anacharsis in Athens, he gave him this invitation, "Come along with me, and I will shew thee at once all the wonders of Greece;" whereupon he shewed him Solon,

as the person in whom there centred all the glories of that city or country. I shall now invite my reader to behold at once the “wonders” of New-England, and it is in one Thomas Hooker that he shall behold them; even in that Hooker, whom a worthy writer would needs call “Saint Hooker,” for the same reason (he said), and with the same freedom that Latimer would speak of Saint Bilney, in his commemorations. ’Tis that Hooker, of whom I may venture to say, that the famous Romanist, who wrote a book, *De Tribus Thomis*, or Of Three Thomas’s — meaning Thomas the Apostle, Thomas à Becket, and Sir Thomas More — did not a thousandth part so well sort his Thomas’s, as a New-Englander might, if he should write a book, *De Duobus Thomis*, or Of Two Thomas’s; and with Thomas the Apostle, join our celebrated Thomas Hooker; my one Thomas, even our apostolical Hooker, would in just balances weigh down two of Stapleton’s rebellious archbishops or bigoted Lord Chancellors. ’Tis he whom I may call, as Theodoret called Iranæus, “The light of the western churches.”

TWO SPEECHES OF JOHN WINTHROP — NEHEMIAS AMERICANUS.

[FROM THE SAME.]

ONCE more there was a time when some active spirits among the deputies of the colony, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a Court of Judicature, but also to take away the negative by which the magistrates might check their votes, had

like by over-driving to have run the whole government into something too democratical. And if there were a town in Spain undermined by coneys, another town in Thrace destroyed by moles, a third in Greece ranversed by frogs, a fourth in Germany subverted by rats ; I must on this occasion add, that there was a country in America like to be confounded by a swine. A certain stray sow being found, was claimed by two several persons with a claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after six or seven years' hunting the business from one court unto another, it was brought at last into the General Court where the final determination was, "that it was impossible to proceed unto any judgment in the case." However, in the debate of this matter, the negative of the upper-house upon the lower in that Court was brought upon the stage ; and agitated with so hot a zeal, that a little more, and all had been in the fire. In these agitations, the governor was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent persons at certain passages in a discourse by him written thereabout ; whereupon, with his usual condescendency, when he next came into the General Court, he made a speech of this import : . . .

This acknowledging disposition in the governor made them all acknowledge, that he was truly "a man of an excellent spirit." In fine, the victories of an Alexander, an Hannibal, or a Cæsar over other men, were not so glorious as the victories of this great man over himself, which also at last proved victories over other men.

§ 9. But the stormiest of all the trials that ever befell this gentleman, was in the year 1645, when he

was, in title, no more than Deputy-governor of the colony. If the famous Cato were forty-four times called into judgment, but as often acquitted ; let it not be wondred, and if famous Winthrop were one time so. There happening certain seditious and mutinous practices in the town of Hingham, the Deputy-governor, as legally as prudently, interposed his authority for the checking of them : whereupon there followed such an enchantment upon the minds of the deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous petition of the delinquents unto them, wherein a pretended invasion made upon the liberties of the people was complained of, the Deputy-governor was most irregularly called forth unto an ignominious hearing before them in a vast assembly ; whereto with a sagacious humilitude he consented, although he shewed them how he might have refused it. The result of that hearing was, that notwithstanding the touchy jealousy of the people about their liberties lay at the bottom of all this prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publicly acquitted, and the offenders were severally fined and censured. But Mr. Winthrop then resuming the place of Deputy-governor on the bench, saw cause to speak unto the root of the matter after this manner : . . . [See Vol. I., p. 106.]

PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS FOR PROMOTING RELIGION.

[FROM "ESSAYS TO DO GOOD," 1710. SECTION XIII.]

WE cannot dismiss the offices of good neighborhood, without offering a proposal, to animate and

regulate private meetings of religious persons, for the exercises of religion. It is very certain that where such private meetings have been maintained, and well conducted, the Christians who have composed them have, like so many “coals of the altar,” kept one another alive, and maintained a lively Christianity in the neighborhood. Such societies have been strong and tried instruments, to uphold the power of godliness. The giving up of such societies has been accompanied with a visible decay of godliness: the less they have been loved or regarded in any place, the less has godliness flourished.

The rules observed by some ASSOCIATED FAMILIES may be offered with advantage on this occasion. They will show us what good may be done in a neighborhood by such societies.

1. It is proposed, That about twelve families agree to meet (the men and their wives) at each other's houses in rotation, once in a fortnight or a month, as shall be thought most proper, and spend a suitable time together in religious exercises.

2. The exercises of religion proper for such a meeting are: for the brethren in rotation to commence and conclude with prayer; for psalms to be sung; and for sermons to be repeated.

* * * * *

6. The members of such a society should consider themselves as bound up in one “bundle of love”; and count themselves obliged, by very close and strong bonds to be serviceable to one another. If any one in the society should fall into affliction all the rest should presently study to relieve and support

the afflicted person in every possible manner. If any one should fall into temptation, the rest should watch over him, and, with the “spirit of meekness,” with “meekness of wisdom,” endeavor to recover him. It should be like a law of the Medes and Persians to the whole society — that they will upon all just occasions, affectionately give, and as affectionately receive mutual admonitions of anything that they may see amiss in each other.

7. It is not easy to reckon the good offices which such a society may do to many others besides its own members . . . yea, all the land may be the better for them.

THE CONVERSATION OF GENTLEMEN.

[FROM THE SAME. SECTION XX.]

THERE seems no need of adding anything but this, that when gentlemen occasionally meet together, why should not their conversation correspond with their superior station? Methinks they should deem it beneath persons of their quality to employ the conversation on trifling impertinences, or in such a way that, if it were secretly taken in shorthand, they would blush to hear it repeated — “Nothing but jesting and laughing, and words scattered by the wind.” Sirs, it becomes a gentleman to entertain his company with the finest thoughts on the finest themes; and certainly there cannot be a subject so worthy of a gentleman as this — What good is there to be done in the world? Were this noble subject

more frequently started in the conversation of gentlemen, an incredible good might be done.

A HERCULEAN STUDENT.

[FROM “MEMOIRS OF REMARKABLES IN THE LIFE AND THE DEATH OF THE EVER-MEMORABLE DR. INCREASE MATHER,” 1724. ARTICLE XXXI. “THE LATTER-DAYS.”]

THE Dr. still had many opportunities for special service continued unto him, and he approved himself a prudent and faithful steward of his talents. He grew in the exercises of repentance and of patience, and of all piety, and communion with God; and in the painful discharge of his ministry, and watchfully laid hold on all opportunities to bear testimonies for the cause of God, and of his people, as the matter might require. But if I cut the chapter into little sections, it may add something to the relish of it.

1. His purpose and manner of life, is exactly described, in a book about holiness, which was written by him, twenty years before he died. In that book he offers admirable rules for growth towards a perfection of holiness, in the fear of God: Which he introduces with saying, *I shall not set before you directions impossible to be followed, or heavy burdens which I would be loth myself to touch.* No, we saw his rules lively exemplified. But his daily course may be enquired after. Besides his patient continuance in that stroke of well-doing, which lay in his course of setting apart whole days for the religion of the

closet, and which he continued until the last year of his life was coming on : His daily course was this : And what a grateful spectacle to angels in it !

In the morning repairing to his study, (where his custom was to sit up very late, even until midnight, and perhaps after it) he deliberately read a chapter, and made a prayer, and then plied what of reading and writing he had before him. At nine o'clock he came down, and read a chapter and made a prayer, with his family. He then returned unto the work of the study. Coming down to dinner, he quickly went up again, and begun the afternoon with another prayer. There he went on with the work of the study till the evening. Then with another prayer he again went unto his Father ; after which he did more at the work of the study. At nine o'clock he came down to his family sacrifices. Then he went up again to the work of the study, which anon he concluded with another prayer ; And so he betook himself unto his repose.

In the prayers of the day, what there fell short of the number, in the hundred and sixty fourth verse of the hundred and nineteenth psalm, was doubtless made up with numberless ejaculations — Of such ejaculatory prayers, no doubt, is to be understood, what antiquity reports of the apostle Bartholomew, That he prayed one hundred times in a day ; and of one Paulus, That he did it three hundred times. I can't say, That this our Eusebius had so many ejaculatory prayers as these come to ; But he was the happy man, that had his quiver full of them !

He commonly spent sixteen hours of the four and twenty in his laborious hive ! Being very much

of Thomas à Kempis his mind, *Nusquam requiem invenio nisi in libro et in claustro*. He was there, some thought, even to a fault. More of his pastoral visits were wished for.

A GREEN OLD AGE.

[FROM THE SAME.]

AND now the time draws nigh, in which Dr. Mather is to die.

He grows old, yet what a green olive-tree in the *proseucha* of his God! — *nec tarda senectus debilitat vires animi, mutaturque vigorem*.

Old age came on. But what an one! How bright! How wise! How strong! And in what an uncommon measure serviceable! He had been an old man while he was yet a young man; I can quote a Rabbi for it: *Sapiens appellatur senex, etiamsi diebus sit exiguus*. And now he was an old man his public performances had a vigor in them, which 'tis a rare thing to see a young man have any thing equal to.

How did the good people far and near discover even a growth of their appetite for the enjoyment of as much as might be obtained from him! The churches would not permit an ordination to be carried on without him as long as he was able to travel in a coach unto them.

And on the day of his attaining to fourscore he preached a sermon full of light and life on those words, Ezek. xvi. 5, "The day when thou wast born." They that wrote after him have printed it.

The *mens et ratio et consilium* which are by Cicero mentioned as the prerogatives of "Old Age," were found in him to an uncommon degree. On very many accounts he might have said, as old Georgias did, *Nihil habeo propter quod senectutem meam accussem*; yea, as a better man, old Drusius did, *Senectus mihi melior quam ipsa juventus*. But that which most of all gave him a comfortable old age, was what Calvin, who did not live to old age, well pitches on as the chiefest comfort of old age: *Tenendum est, præcipuam partem bonæ senectutis, in bona conscientia animoque; sereno ac tranquillo consistere*. A good heart, filled with the love and peace of God and the soul of an Abraham.

In consideration of this εὐγηρία, it was not amiss for a grandson, upon the birthday on which he entered fourscore, thus to compliment him.

To my most honored Grandfather, on the day of his entering the eightieth year of his age.

To my Grandfather in all good so great,
His nephew does his age congratulate.
'Tis not enough, Sir, that you live to see
Such years; we hope you'll our true Nestor be.
We wish the years in which you live and preach,
To those of a Methuselah may reach.
'Tis true, in common reckoning we suppose
You want eight hundred eighty-six of those,
But measuring life by works and not by years,
Your age nine hundred sixty-nine appears.
Methuselah had a bright father too;
A "walker with his God;" Sir, such as you.
If you and we must have a parting day,
Death, strike not! — Let him go in Enoch's way.
And Sir, if prophets mayn't forever live,
May you in Grandsons left by you survive.

But it is now time for me to tell that after four-score the report of Moses did no longer want confirmation with him. He began to be more sensible of those decays which not only caused him to recite the verse of the Roman satirist :

O quam continuis, et quantis plena senectus longa malis ! —.

but also caused him several times to say to me : “ Be sure, you don’t pray that you may live beyond four-score ! ” Yet now he preached nobly on “ An Old Disciple ; ” as well as many other subjects.

And now, he that had wished for “ sufferings for the Lord,” must be content with sufferings from the Lord. Even these borne with the faith and patience of the saints have a sort of martyrdom in them, and will add unto the “ far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.”

On September 25th, he did with an excellent and pathetic prayer, in a mighty auditory, conclude a “ day of prayer ” kept by his church, to obtain a good success of the Gospel and the growth of real and vital piety, with plentiful effusions of the good Spirit, especially upon the “ Rising Generation.” Within two days after this he fell into an apoplectic sort of deliquium (very much occasioned, as it was thought, by too extreme a concern of his mind on some late occurrences at New Haven), out of which he recovered in a few minutes ; but it so enfeebled him, that he never went abroad any more.

However, his “ wisdom yet remained with him.”

VERSES FROM THE MAGNALIA.

COTTON MATHER was no poet, but like many of his quaint predecessors of the seventeenth century he thought it added dignity to his pages to insert poetical tributes to the distinguished men about whom he wrote. Some of these elegies and epitaphs were written by himself in the fantastic style of two generations before. Others, such as the lines on John Cotton by Benjamin Woodbridge, given in our first volume, were gathered from other sources. We here select some of Mather's own lines, some contributed by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes (1647-1717), pastor at Salem, the most fantastic of all our poets and an inveterate punster, an epitaph by the "ingenious merchant," Mr. Samuel Bache, and a few verses by a certain Benjamin Thompson (1642-1714), who has the credit of being our first native born poet, of whom, however, very little is known. His *New England's Crisis*, which is supposed to be an epic of King Philip's War, seems to have been preserved only in selections, but our specimen of Thompson's verse will hardly cause great regrets for the fate of his *magum opus*.

“A PREFATORY POEM, ON THAT EXCELLENT BOOK, ENTITULED *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*; WRITTEN BY THE REV. MR. COTTON MATHER, PASTOR OF A CHURCH AT BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND.”

BY NICHOLAS NOYES.

TO THE CANDID READER.

STRUCK with huge love, of what to be possest,
I much despond, good reader, in the quest;
Yet help me, if at length it may be said,
Who first the chambers of the south display'd?
Inform me, whence the tawny people came?
Who was their father, Japhet, Shem, or Cham?
And how they straddled to th' Antipodes,
To look another world beyond the seas?
And when, and why, and where they last broke
ground,
What risks they ran, where they first anchoring
found?
Tell me their patriarchs, prophets, priests, and kings,
Religion, manners, monumental things:
What charters had they? What immunities?
What altars, temples, cities, colonies,
Did they erect? Who were their public spirits?
Where may we find the records of their merits?
What instances, what glorious displays
Of heav'n's high hand, commenced in their days?
These things in black oblivion covered o'er,

(As they'd ne'er been) lie with a thousand more,
 A vexing thought, that makes me scarce forbear,
 To stamp, and wring my hands, and pluck my hair,
 To think, what blessed ignorance hath done,
 What fine threads learning's enemies have spun,
 How well books, schools, and college may be spared,
 So men with beasts may fitly be compared !
 Yes, how tradition leaves us in the lurch,
 And who, nor stay at home, nor go to church :
 The light-within-enthusiasts, who let fly
 Against our pen and ink divinity,
 Who boldly do pretend (but who'll believe it) ?
 If Genesis were lost, they could retrieve it ;
 Yea, all the sacred writ ; pray let them try
 On the New Word, their gift of prophecy.
 For all them, the new world's antiquities,
 Smother'd in everlasting silence lies :

* * * * *

Who can past things to memory command,
 Till one with Aaron's breast-plate up shall stand ?
 Mischiefs remediless such sloth ensue ;
 God and their parents lose their honor due,
 And children's children suffer on that score,
 Like bastards cast forlorn at any door ;
 And they and others put to seek their father,
 For want of such a scribe as Cotton Mather ;
 Whose piety, whose pains, and peerless pen,
 Revives New England's nigh-lost origin.

* * * * *

He hath related academic things,
 And paid their first fruits to the King of kings ;
 And Alma Mater that just favor,

To shew *sal gentium* hath not lost its savor.
 He writes like an historian, and divine,
 Of Churches, Synods, Faith, and Discipline.

* * * * *

The stuff is true, the trimming neat and spruce,
 The workman's good, the work of public use ;
 Most piously designed, a public store.
 And well deserves the public thanks, and more.

UPON THE DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, KNT.

LATE CAPTAIN GENERAL AND GOVERNOUR IN CHIEF
 OF THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSET-BAY IN
 NEW-ENGLAND, WHO EXPIRED AT LONDON, FEB.
 1694-1695.

And to Mortality a sacrifice
 Falls he, whose deeds must him immortalize !

REJOICE, Messieurs ; Netops rejoice ; 'tis true,
 Ye Philistines, none will rejoice but you :
 Loving of all he dy'd ; who love him not
 Now, have the grace of publicans forgot.
 Our Almanacks foretold a great eclipse,
 This they foresaw not, of our greater Phips.
 Phips our great friend, our wonder, and our glory,
 The terror of our foes, the world's rare story.
 England will boast him too whose noble mind
 Impell'd by Angels, did those treasures find,
 Long in the bottom of the ocean laid,
 Which her three hundred thousand richer made,
 By silver yet ne'er canker'd, nor defil'd

By Honor, nor betray'd when Fortune smil'd.
 Since this bright Phœbus visited our shore,
 We saw no fogs but what were rais'd before :
 Those vanish'd too ; harass'd by bloody wars
 Our land saw peace, by his most generous cares.
 The wolvish Pagans at his dreaded name,
 Tam'd, shrunk before him, and his dogs became !
 Fell Moxus and fierce Dockawando fall,
 Charm'd at the feet of our brave general.

* * * * *

Stout to a prodigy : living in pain
 To send back Quebec-bullets once again.
 Thunder, his music, sweeter than the spheres,
 Chim'd roaring canons in his martial ears.
 Frigates of armed men could not withstand,
 'Twas tried, the force of his one swordless hand :
 Hand, which in one, all of Briareus had,
 And Hercules' twelve toils but pleasures made.

* * * * *

Now lest ungrateful brands we should incur,
 Your salary we'll pay in tears, great Sir !

* * * * *

But thou chief loser, poor New-England, speak
 Thy dues to such as did thy welfare seek,
 The governour that vow'd to rise and fall
 With thee, thy fate shows in his funeral.
 Write now his epitaph, 'twill be thine own,
 Let it be this, A PUBLIC SPIRIT'S GONE.
 Or, but name PHIPS ; more needs not be exprest ;
 Both Englands, and next ages, tell the rest.

REMARKS.

ON THE BRIGHT AND THE DARK SIDE OF THAT
AMERICAN PILLAR, THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAM
THOMPSON ; PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT BRAIN-
TREE. WHO TRIUMPHED ON DEC. 10, 1666.

BUT may a rural pen try to set forth
Such a great father's ancient grace and worth !
I undertake a no less arduous theme,
Than the old sages found the Chaldee dream.
'Tis more than Tithes of a profound respect,
That must be paid such a Melchizedeck.

Oxford this light, with tongues and arts doth trim ;
And then his northern town doth challenge him.
His time and strength he center'd there in this ;
To do good work, and be what now he is.
His fulgent virtues there, and learned strains,
Tall, comely presence, life unsoil'd with stains,
Things most on worthies, in their stories writ,
Did him to moves in orbs of service fit.
Things more peculiar yet, my muse, intend,
Say stranger things than these ; so weep and end.

When he forsook first his Oxonian cell,
Some scores at once from popish darkness fell ;
So this reformer studied ! rare first fruits !
Shaking a crab-tree thus by hot disputes,
The acid juice by miracle turned wine,
And rais'd the spirits of our young divine.
Hearers, like doves, flock'd with contentious wing,

Who should be first, feed most, most homeward bring,
 Laden with honey, like Hyblæan bees,
 They knead it into combs upon their knees.

* * * *

Apollyon owing him a cursed spleen
 Who an Apollos in the church had been,
 Dreading his traffic here would be undone
 By num'rous proselytes he daily won,
 Accus'd him of imaginary faults,
 And push'd him down so into dismal vaults :
 Vaults, where he kept long Ember-weeks of grief,
 Till Heaven alarmed sent him in relief.
 Then was a Daniel in the lions' den,
 A man, oh, how belov'd of God and men !
 By his bed-side an Hebrew sword there lay,
 With which at last he drove the devil away.
 Quakers too durst not bear his keen replies,
 But fearing it half drawn, the trembler flies.
 Like Lazarus, new rais'd from death, appears
 The saint that had been dead for many years.
 Our Nehemiah said, Shall such as I
 Desert my flock, and like a coward fly !
 Long had the churches begg'd the saint's release ;
 Releas'd at last, he dies in glorious peace.
 The night is not so long, but phosphor's ray
 Approaching glories doth on high display.
 Faith's eye in him discern'd the morning star,
 His heart leap'd ; sure the sun cannot be far.
 In extasies of joy, he ravish'd cries,
 Love, love the lamb, the lamb ! in whom he dies.

AN "ELEGANT ELEGY WHICH MR. SAMUEL BACHE, AN INGENIOUS MERCHANT, MADE" UPON THE REV. JOHN WILSON.

WHEN as the poor want succor, where is he
 Can say, all can be said, extempore?
 Vie with the lightning, and melt down to th' quick
 Their souls, and make themselves their pockets pick?
 Where's such a leader, thus has got the slight
 T' teach holy hands to war, fingers to fight;
 Their arrow hit? Bowels to bowels meant it,
 God, Christ, and saints, accept, but Wilson sent it.
 Which way so e'er the propositions move,
 The *ergo* of his syllogism's love.
 So bountiful to all: but if the poor
 Was christian too, all's money went, and more,
 His coat, rug, blanket, gloves; he thought their due
 Was all his money, garments, one of two.

UPON THE VERY REVEREND SAMUEL WHITING.

BY BENJAMIN THOMPSON.

MOUNT fame, the glorious chariot of the sun; '
 Through the world's cirque, all you, her heralds,
 run:
 And let this great saint's merits be reveal'd,
 Which, during life, he studiously conceal'd.
 Cite all the Levites, fetch the sons of art,

In these our dolours to sustain a part.
Warn all that value worth, and every one
Within their eyes to bring an Helicon.
For in this single person we have lost
More riches, than an India has engrost.

When Wilson, that plerophory of love,
Did from our banks, up to his center move,
Rare Whiting quotes Columbus on this coast,
Producing gems, of which a king might boast.
More splendid far than ever Aaron wore,
Within his breast, this sacred father bore.
Sound doctrine Urim, in his holy cell,
And all perfections Thummim there did dwell.
His holy vesture was his innocence,
His speech embroideries of curious sense.
Such awful gravity this doctor us'd,
As if an angel every word infus'd.

No turgent style, but Asiatic store ;
Conduits were almost full, seldom run o'er
The banks of Time : come visit when you will,
The streams of nectar were descending still :
Much like Septemfluous Nilus, rising so,
He watered christians round, and made them grow.
His modest whispers could the conscience reach,
As well as whirlwinds, which some others preach ;
No Boanerges, yet could touch the heart,
And clench his doctrine by the meekest art.
His learning and his language, might become
A province not inferior to Rome.
Glorious was Europe's heaven when such as these
Stars of his size, shone in each diocese.

* * * *

SAMUEL SEWALL.

SAMUEL SEWALL, whose Diary has done more than any other book to make the intimate life of New England, toward the close of the seventeenth and in the early decades of the eighteenth century, familiar to modern readers, was born in Bishopstoke, England, in 1652 and died in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1730. He was brought to New England in youth, entered Harvard at fifteen, took his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in due course, studied Divinity and had entered on the ministry, when his marriage in 1677 diverted him from this career and turned him to public life, in which his father-in-law, John Hull, held offices of trust and distinction. He first took charge of the Colonial Printing Press, but in 1684 was chosen Assistant Governor, and in 1688 spent a year in England. On his return he was again chosen Assistant Governor, and in 1692 Member of the Council and Judge of the Probate Court. This brought him into prominence in the Salem Witchcraft Trials, into which he entered with conscientious zeal for the fulfilment of duty, but soon after, having convinced himself of error, was the only one of the judges implicated in that affair who confessed publicly his mistake in what was then called a "Bill," read before the congregation of the Old South Church by the minister in January of 1697, Sewall himself remaining

standing in his pew during the reading. Till the end of his life, for thirty-one years, he set apart annually a day of fasting, meditation, and prayer in token of his offence, and it seems to have had a permanent effect upon his character. In 1699 the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made him a Commissioner and afterward their Secretary and Treasurer for New England. In 1700 he issued what seems to be the first American anti-slavery tract *The Selling of Joseph*, and this was but indicative of a sympathy with the oppressed that characterized a benevolent and charitable career. For ten years, from 1718 to 1728, he was Chief Justice of Massachusetts. During his lifetime he published only four small treatises, *The Selling of Joseph*, *The Accomplishment of Prophecies*, in 1713 ; a Memorial relating to the Kennebec Indians, in 1721, and a *Description of the New Heaven* (1727). Eclipsing all these in importance and interest are the Diary, and the Letters published by the Mass. Hist. Soc. (1878-1882). They exhibit a man of high ability and sterling character, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his generation in New England, and they show also the political, civil, and social life of the times, as only the minute diary of a man of judicious temper and the widest social and civic opportunity could do.

Of Sewall's character the *Boston Weekly Newsletter* of January 8th, 1730, said : " He was universally and greatly revered, esteemed, and beloved amongst us for his eminent piety, learning, and wisdom ; his grave and venerable aspect and carriage ; his instructive, affable, and cheerful conversation ; his strict integrity and regard to justice ; his extraordinary tender

and compassionate heart ; his neglect of the world ; his abundant liberality ; his catholic and public spirit ; his critical acquaintance with the Scriptures in their inspired originals ; his zeal for the purity of instituted worship ; his constant, diligent, and reverent attendance in it, both in the church and family ; his love for the churches, people, and ministers, the civil and religious interest of this country ; his tender concern for the aboriginal natives ; and as the crown of all, his moderation, peaceableness, and humility ; which, being all united in the same person, and in an high degree and station, rendered him one of the most shining lights and honors of the age and land wherein he lived, and worthy of a very distinguished regard in the New English Histories." — (*Sewall Papers*, Vol. III. p. 410.)

FROM THE DIARY OF SAMUEL SEWALL.

DISCIPLINE AT HARVARD COLLEGE.

MONDAY, June 15, 1674. . . . Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation : finally, the advice of Mr. Danforth, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Mather (then present) was taken. This was his sentence.

That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H. G. he should be therefore publicly whipped before all the Scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor (this sentence read before him twice at the Prts. before this committee, and in the library 1 up

before execution.) 3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled from the College. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth Jr. being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down and the instrument Goodman Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President. July 1, 1674. Sir Thatcher commonplaced, Justification was his head. He had a good solid piece : stood above an hour and yet brake off before he came to any use. By reason that there was no warning given, none (after the undergraduates) were present, save Mr. Dan Gookin, Sr., the President and myself. July 3, 1674. N.B. Mr. Gookin, Jr., was gone a fishing with his brothers.

April 4, 1675, Sab. day. I help preach for my Master (Mr. Parker) in the afternoon. Being afraid to look on the glass, ignorantly and unwillingly I stood two hours and a half.

THE PANGS OF DESPISED LOVE.

Saturday Even. Aug. 12, 1676, just as prayer ended Tim. Dwight sank down in a swoon, and for a good space was as if he perceived not what was done to him : after, kicked and sprawled, knocking his hands and feet upon the floor like a distracted man. Was carried pickpack to bed by John Alcock, there

his clothes pulled off. In the night it seems he talked of ships, his master, father and uncle Eliot. The Sabbath following Father went to him, spake to him to know what ailed him, asked if he would be prayed for, and for what he would desire his friends to pray. He answered, for more sight of sin, and God's healing grace. I asked him, being alone with him, whether his troubles were from some outward cause or spiritual. He answered, spiritual. I asked him why then he could not tell it his master, as well as any other, since it is the honor of any man to see sin and be sorry for it. He gave no answer, as I remember. Asked him if he would go to meeting. He said, 'twas in vain for him ; his day was out. I asked, what day ; he answered, of Grace. I told him 'twas sin for any one to conclude themselves reprobate, that this was all one. He said he would speak more, but could not, &c. Notwithstanding all this semblance (and much more than is written) of compunction for sin, 'tis to be feared that his trouble arose from a maid whom he passionately loved : for that when Mr. Dwight and his master had agreed to let him go to her, he afterwards grew well.

SPIRITUAL LESSONS IN CHICKEN FOOD.

Jan. 13, 1676/7. Giving my chickens meat, it came to my mind that I gave them nothing save Indian corn and water, and yet they eat it and thrived very well, and that that food was necessary for them, how mean soever, which much affected me and convinced what need I stood in of spiritual food, and that I should not nauseate daily duties of prayer, &c.

REGULATIONS OF THE SOUTH WATCH COMPANY
OF BOSTON.

(1679). For the better inspection of the several Watches and the four several Guards in this Town of Boston. It is ordered, agreed and concluded by the Committee of Militia for the said Town, that the eight Foot Companies by their Commission Officers and Sergeants (being seven in each company) or for want thereof, or by reason of any other hindrance, a sufficient supply be made at the discretion of the rest of the Officers of said Company : Also the Officers of the Troop that live in the Town (eight) or for want thereof to be supplied of their troopers, as abovesaid : which said sixty four men shall each in their respective turn as hereafter mentioned take unto them one or two more that live in the Precincts of their own Company who shall walk every night (in their several turn) throughout the Town in every Quarter, and shall take inspection of the several Guards and Watches, how they are managed, and give such directions as to them shall seem meet for the better discharge of their duty according to law. Taking the care and charge of all the Watches in the Town in their respective nights ; Who shall march with an half pike with a fair head, by which he may be known to the Commander of the Watch and in the morning leave the same with him whose turn is next, which shall be accounted a sufficient warning or notice to the next Commander to take his turn.

HOW THEY KEPT CHRISTMAS DAY.

Dec. 25. Friday, 1685. Carts come to Town and shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day ; but are vexed I believe that the body of the people profane it, and blessed be God no authority yet to compell them to keep it. A great snow fell last night so this day and night very cold.

PURITAN HOSPITALITY TO ANGLICAN WORSHIP.

Saturday, June 23, 1688. Capt. Frary and I go to his Excellency at the Secretaries, Office, and there desired that he would not alter his time of meeting, and that Mr. Willard consented to no such thing, neither did he count that 'twas in his power so to do. Mr. West said he went not to ask Mr. Willard leave. His Excellency asked who the house [the Old South Meeting House] belong'd to ; we told Him the title to the House was on record. His Excellency turned to Mr. Graham and said Mr. Attorney we will have that look'd into. Governor said if Mr. Willard not the Parson, so great an Assembly must be considered. We said he was master of the Assembly, but had no power to dispose of the House, neither had others, for the deed expressed the use 'twas to be put to. Governor complain'd of our long staying Sabbath-day sennight ; said 'twas the Lord's Supper, and (he) had promised to go to some other House on such days ; Mr. Randolph said he knew of no such promise, and the Governor seemed angry and said he would not so break his word for all the Massachusetts Colony, and therefore, to avoid mis-

takes, must give in writing what we had to say ; we answered Mr. Randolph brought not any writing to those he spake to. Governor said we rent off from the old Church against the Government, and the land the House stood on was bought clandestinely, and that one should say he would defend the work with his Company of soldiers. Mention'd folks backwardness to give, and the unreasonableness ; because if any stinking filthy thing were in the House we would give something to have it carried out, but would not give to build them an house : Said came from England to avoid such and such things, therefore could not give to set them up here : and the Bishops would have thought strange to have been asked to contribute towards setting up the New-England Churches. Governor said God willing they would begin at eight in the Morning and have done by nine : we said 'twould hardly be so in winter. Mr. Graham said if they had their service by candle-light what was that to any : And that the service appointed by the Church for morning could not be held after noon.

Sabbath, June 24. We read and sing in course the 57th Psal. Aitaschith. They (the Church of England congregation) have done before nine in the morn, and about a quarter after one in the afternoon ; so we have very convenient time.

July 1. Governor takes his old time again after our coming out, and Sir William Phips' chaplain preaches. We were a little hurried and disappointed in the morning the Bell ringing about quarter before nine.

DOMESTIC AMENITIES AND A CATASTROPHE.

Tuesday, Jan. 12, 1691/2. . . . This night (*blank*) Hamlen, formerly Plats, before that, Crabtree, a middle-aged woman, through some displeasure at her son, whom she beat, sat not down to supper with her husband and a stranger at table; when they had done, she took away, and in the room where she set it, took a piece of grisly meat of a shoulder of mutton into her mouth, which got into the top of the larynx and stopt it fast, so she was presently choked. Tho. Pemberton and others found it so when they opened her throat. She gave a stamp with her foot and put her finger in her mouth: but Pemberton not at home, and died immediately. What need have all to acknowledge God in whose hand their breath is, &c.

COMFORT IN TRIBULATION.

Saturday, Feb. 27, 1691/2. Between 4. and 5. *mane*, we are startled at the roaring of a beast, which I conjectur'd to be an ox broken loose from a butcher, running along the street, but proved to be our own Cow bitten by a dog, so that were forc'd to kill her; though calved but Jan. 4th and gives plenty of milk. Happy are they, who have God for their Spring and Breast of Supplies. Exceeding high wind this day at North East.

NOTES ON THE WITCHCRAFT PERSECUTION.

April 11th, 1692. Went to Salem, where, in the Meeting-house, the persons accused of Witch-

craft were examined ; was a very great Assembly ; 'twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes pray'd at the beginning, and Mr. Higginson concluded. (*In the margin*) Væ, Væ, Væ, Witchcraft.

Aug. 19th, 1692. . . . This day (*in the margin*, Doleful Witchcraft) George Burrough, John Willard, Jno. Procter, Martha Carrier, and George Jacobs were executed at Salem, a very great number of spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Chiever &c. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather said they all died by a righteous sentence. Mr. Burrough by his speech, prayer, protestation of his innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

Monday, Sept. 19, 1692. About noon, at Salem, Giles Corey was press'd to death for standing mute ; much pains were used with him two days, one after another, by the Court and Capt. Gardner of Nantucket who had been of his acquaintance ; but all in vain.

Sept. 20. Now I hear from Salem that about 18 years ago, he was suspected to have stamped and press'd a man to death, but was cleared. 'Twas not remembered till Anne Putnam was told of it by Corey's spectre the Sabbath-day night before the execution.

Sept. 21, 1692. A petition is sent to Town in behalf of Dorcas Hoar who now confesses : Accordingly an order is sent to the Sheriff to forbear her execution, notwithstanding her being in the warrant to die to-morrow. This is the first condemned person who has confess'd.

1696/7. (Petition put up by Mr. Sewall on the Fast Day.)

Copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast day ; giving it to Mr. Willard as he pass'd by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished ; in the Afternoon.

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family ; and being sensible, that as to the guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this Day relates), he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God, who has an unlimited authority, would pardon that sin and all other sins ; personal and relative ; And, according to his infinite benignity and sovereignty, not visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the land : But that He would powerfully defend him against all temptations to sin, for the future ; and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving conduct of his Word and Spirit.

YOUNG JOSEPH AND THE OLD ADAM.

Nov. 6, 1892. Joseph threw a knop of brass and hit his Sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell ; upon which, and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whipped him pretty smartly. When I first went in (called by his Grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the cradle : which gave me the sorrowful remembrance of Adam's carriage.

A CRITIC CRITICISED.

Sept. 10, 1896. Letter. Mrs. Martha Oakes. Not finding opportunity to speak with you at your house, nor at my own, I write to persuade you to be sensible that your striking your daughter-in-law before me, in my house, is not justifiable : though 'twas but a small blow, 'twas not a small fault : especially considering your promise to refrain from speech itself ; or at least any that might give disturbance. As for New England, it is a cleaner country than ever you were in before, and, therefore, with disdain to term it *filthy* is a sort of blasphemy, which, by proceeding out of your mouth, hath defiled you. I write not this to upbraid, but to admonish you, with whom I sympathize under your extraordinary provocations and pressures ; and pray God command you freedom from them. S. S.

NIGHT THOUGHTS OF HARVARD.

Jan. 26, 1896/7. I lodged at Charlestown at Mrs. Shepard's, who tells me Mr. Harvard built that house. I lay in the chamber next the street. As I lay awake past midnight, in my meditation, I was affected to consider how long ago God had made provision for my comfortable lodging that night ; seeing that was Mr. Harvard's house : And that led me to think of Heaven the House not made with hands, which God for many thousands of years has been storing with the richest furniture (saints that are from time to time placed there), and that I had some hopes of being entertained in that magnificent convenient Palace, every way fitted and furnished. These thoughts were very refreshing to me.

THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY.

Fourth-day, June 19, 1700. . . . Having been long and much dissatisfied with the trade of fetching Negroes from Guinea ; at last I had a strong inclination to write something about it ; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne, Ephes. about servants, who mentions Blackamoors ; I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing anything. When I was thus thinking, in came Bro. Belknap to show me a petition he intended to present to Gen^l Court for the freeing of a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in bondage. And there is a motion by a Boston Committee to get a law that all importers of Negroes shall pay 40s per head, to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather

resolves to publish a sheet to exhort masters to labor their conversion. Which makes me hope that I was called of God to write this apology for them. Let his blessing accompany the same.

SPEECH AT HIS MOTHER'S GRAVE.

Jany. 4th, 1700/1. . . . Went abt. 4 P.M. Nathan¹ Bricket taking in hand to fill the grave, I said, Forbear a little, and suffer me to say that amidst our bereaving sorrows we have the comfort of beholding this saint put into the rightful possession of that happiness of living desir'd and dying lamented. She liv'd commendably four and fifty years with her dear husband, and my dear father : And she could not well brook the being divided from him at her death ; which is the cause of our taking leave of her in this place. She was a true and constant lover of God's Word, worship and saints : And she always, with a patient cheerfulness, submitted to the divine decree of providing bread for her self and others in the sweat of her brows. And now her infinitely gracious and bountiful Master has promoted her to the honor of higher employments, fully and absolutely discharged from all manner of toil and sweat. My honored and beloved Friends and Neighbors ! My dear mother never thought much of doing the most frequent and homely offices of love for me : and lavished away many thousands of words upon me, before I could return one word in answer : And therefore I ask and hope that none will be offended that I have now ventured to speak one word in her behalf ; when she herself has become speechless.

Made a motion with my hand for the filling of the grave. Note. I could hardly speak for passion and tears.

JUDGE SEWALL ELECTED CAPTAIN OF THE ARTILLERY COMPANY.

Monday, June 2, 1701. Mr. Pemberton preaches the Artillery Sermon from Luke, 3-14. Dine at Monk's. Because of the rain and mist, this day, the election is made upon the Town-house, Sewall, Capt. : Tho. Hutchinson, Lieut. ; Tho. Savage, jun^r, Ensign. ; Tho. Fitch. 1 Sergt. ; Oliver Noyes 2 : Hab. Savage 3 ; Charles Chauncy 4. Called down the Council out of the Chamber, set their chairs below ; Col. Pynchon gave the Staves and Ensign. I said was surprised to see they had mistaken a sorry pruning hook for a military spear ; but paid such a deference to the Company that would rather run the venture of exposing my own inability than give any occasion to suspect I slighted their call. To Serg^t Fitch, Doubted not but if I could give any thing tolerable words of command, he would mend them in a vigorous and speedy performance : was glad of so good a hand to me and the Company (Mr. Noyes abroad in the Gally). To Hab S[avage], The savages are soldiers *ex traduce* ; in imitation of his honored father, uncle and grandfather, hoped for worthy performance from him. To Ch. Chauncy, Had such a honor for your grandfather and father that was glad was join^d with me in this relation. Drew out before Mr. Usher's, gave 3 volleys. Drew into Townhouse again ; sent Serg^t

Chauncy for Mr. Pemberton, who said he was glad to see the staff in my hands ; pray'd with us. Had the company to my house, treated them with bread, beer, wine sillibub. — They ordered Capt. Checkly and me to thank Mr. Pemberton for his sermon, which we did on Tuesday, desiring a copy. June 4. Bro^r comes to Town, I treat him at Plyes : goes home.

THE CASUISTRY OF THE WIG.

Tuesday, June 10th Having last night heard that Josiah Willard had cut off his hair (a very full head of hair) and put on a wig, I went to him this morning. Told his mother what I came about, and she called him. I inquired of him what extremity had forced him to put off his own hair, and put on a wig? He answered, none at all. But said that his hair was straight and that it parted behind. Seemed to argue that men might as well shave their hair off their head, as off their face. I answered men were men before they had hair on their faces, (half of mankind never have any). God seems to have ordained our hair as a test, to see whether we can bring our minds to be content to be at his finding : or whether we would be our own carvers, lords, and come no more at him. If disliked our skin, our nails ; 'tis no thanks to us, that for all that, we cut them not off : Pain and danger restrain us. Your calling is to teach men self denial. Twill be most displeasing and burdensome to good men : And they that care not what men think of them care not what God thinks of them. Father, Bro^r Simon, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Wigglesworth,

Oakes, Noyes (Oliver), Brattle of Cambridge, their example. Allow me to be so far a *Censor Morum* for this end of the Town. Pray'd him to read the Tenth Chapter of the Third book of Calvin's Institutions. I read it this morning in course, not of choice. Told him it was condemned by a Meeting of Ministers at Northampton in Mr. Stoddard's house, when the said Josiah was there. Told him of the Solemnity of the Covenant which he and I had lately entered into, which put me upon discoursing to him. He seemed to say he would leave off his wig when his hair was grown. I spake to his father of it a day or two after : He thank'd me that had discoursed his son, and told me that when his hair was grown to cover his ears, he promised to leave off his wig. If he had known of it would have forbidden him. His mother heard him talk of it ; but was afraid positively to forbid him ; lest he should do it, and so be more faulty.

TRAINING DAY OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY.

Monday, Oct. 6, 1701. Very pleasant fair weather ; Artillery trains in the afternoon (Sewall in command). March with the Company to the Elms ; Go to prayer, March down and shoot at a mark. Mr. Cushing I think was the first that hit it, Mr. Gerrish twice, Mr. Fitch, Chauncy, and the Ensign of the Officers. By far the most missed, as I did for the first. Were much contented with the exercise. Led them to the Trees again, performed some facings and doublings. Drew them together ;

propounded the question about the Colours ; 'twas voted very freely and fully. I informed the Company I was told the Company's halberds &c. were borrowed ; I understood the leading staff was so, and therefore asked their acceptance of a half-pike, which they very kindly did ; I delivered it to Mr. Gibbs for their use.

They would needs give me a volley in token of their respect on this occasion. The pike will, I suppose, stand me in forty shillings, being headed and shod with silver : Has this motto fairly engraven :

Agmen Massachusettense
est in tutelam Sponsae
AGNI Uxoris

1701

The Lord help us to answer the profession. Were treated by the Ensign in a fair chamber. Gave a very handsome volley at Lodging the Colors. The training in Sept. was a very fair day, so was this.

A ST. GEORGE'S DAY CELEBRATION IN BOSTON.

Tuesday, Apr. 23, 1706. Govr. comes to Town guarded by the troops with their swords drawn ; dines at the Dragon from thence proceeds to the Townhouse, illuminations at night. Capt. Pelham tells me several wore crosses in their hats ; which makes me resolve to stay at home ; (though Maxwell was at my House and spake to me to be at the Council-Chamber at 4 p. m.) Because to drinking healths, now the keeping of a day to fictitious St. George is plainly set on foot. It seems Capt. Dudley's men

wore crosses. Somebody had fastened a cross to a dog's head ; Capt. Dudley's boatswain seeing him, struck the dog, and then went into the shop, next where the dog was, and struck down a carpenter, one Davis, as he was at work, not thinking anything : Boatswain and the other with him were fined 10s each for breach of peace, by Jer. Dummer, Esqr. : pretty much blood was shed by means of this bloody cross, and the poor dog a sufferer.

A COLONIAL WEDDING.

Octobr. 29, 1713. . . . In the Evening Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton marries my son Joseph Sewall and Mrs. Elizabeth Walley. Wait Winthrop esqr. and Lady, Samuel Porter esqr., Edmund Quinsey esqr., Ephriam Savage esqr. and wife, Madam Usher, Mr. Mico and wife, Jer. Dummer esqr., Cousin Sam. Storke, Cous. Carter, and many more present. Sung out of the 115th Ps. 2½ staves from the 11th to the end. W. which I set. Each had a piece of cake and sack-posset. Mr. Pemberton craved a blessing and returned Thanks at eating the sack-posset. Came away between 9 and 10. Daughter Sewall came in the coach with my wife, who invited her to come in and lodge here with her husband ; but she refus'd, and said she had promised to go to her Sister Wainwright's and did so.

THE LOVE AFFAIRS OF A CHIEF JUSTICE.

June 9, 1718. . . . Mrs. D——n came in the morning about nine o'clock and I took her up into my

chamber and discoursed thoroughly with her ; She desired me to provide another and better nurse. I gave her the two last *News Letters* — told her I intended to visit her at her own house next Lecture Day. She said 'twould be talked of. I answered : In such cases, persons must run the gauntlet. Gave her Mr. Whiting's Oration for Abijah Walter, who brought her on horseback to town. I think little or no notice was taken of it.

October 29, 1719. Thanksgiving Day : between 6 and 7 Brother Moody & I went to Mrs. Tilley's, and about 7 or 8, were married by Mr. J. Sewall, in the best room below stairs. Mr. Prince prayed the second time. Mr. Adams the minister at Newington was there, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Timothy Clark, Justices, and many more. Sung the 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 verses of the 90th Psalm. Cousin S. Sewall set Low-Dutch tune in a very good key, which made the singing with a good number of voices very agreeable. Distributed cake. . . .

Sept^r 5, 1720. Mary Hirst goes to board with Madam Oliver and her Mother Loyd. Going to Son Sewall's I there meet with Madam Winthrop, told her I was glad to meet her there, had not seen her a great while ; gave her Mr. Homes's Sermon. . . .

7^r 30. Mr. Colman's Lecture : Daughter Sewall acquaints Madam Winthrop that if she pleas'd to be within at 3. p. m. I would wait on her. She answer'd she would be at home.

8^r 1. Saturday, I dine at Mr. Stoddard's : from thence I went to Madam Winthrop's just at 3. Spake to her, saying, my loving wife died so soon and suddenly, 'twas hardly convenient for me to think of marrying again ; however I came to this resolution, that I would not make my court to any person without first consulting with her. Had a pleasant discourse about 7 [seven] single persons sitting in the Fore-seat 7^r 29th, viz. Mad^m Rebekah Dudley, Catharine Winthrop, Bridget Usher, Deliverance Legg, Rebekah Loyd, Lydia Colman, Elizabeth Bellingham. She propounded one and another for me ; but none would do, said Mrs. Loyd was about her age.

Octob^r 3. Waited on Madam Winthrop again ; 'twas a little while before she came in. Her daughter Noyes being there alone with me, I said, I hoped my waiting on her mother would not be disagreeable to her. She answer'd she should not be against that that might be for her comfort. I saluted her, and told her I perceiv'd I must shortly wish her a good time ; (her mother had told me, she was with child, and within a month or two of her time). By and by in came Mr. Airs, Chaplain of the Castle, and hang'd up his hat, which I was a little startled at, it seeming as if he was to lodge there. At last Madam Winthrop came too. After a considerable time, I went up to her and said, if it might not be inconvenient I desired to speak with her. She assented, and spake of going into another room ; but Mr. Airs and Mrs. Noyes presently rose up, and went out, leaving us there alone. Then I usher'd in discourse from the names in the Fore-seat ; at last I pray'd that Catha-

rine [Mrs. Winthrop] might be the person assign'd for me. She instantly took it up in the way of denial, as if she had catch'd at an opportunity to do it, saying she could not do it before she was asked. Said that was her mind unless she should change it, which she believed she should not ; could not leave her children. I express'd my sorrow that she should do it so speedily, pray'd her consideration, and ask'd her when I should wait on her again. She setting on time, I mention'd that day sennight. Gave her Mr. Willard's Fountain Open'd with the little print and verses ; saying, I hop'd if we did well read that book, we should meet together hereafter, if we did not now. She took the book, and put it in her pocket. Took leave.

8^r 5. Midweek, I din'd with the Court ; from thence went and visited Cousin Jonathan's wife, lying in with her little Betty. Gave the Nurse 2^s. Although I had appointed to wait upon her, M^m Winthrop, next Monday, yet I went away from my Cousin Sewall's thither about 3. p. m. The nurse told me Madam dined abroad at her daughter Noyes's, they were to go out together. I ask'd for the maid, who was not within. Gave Katy a penny and a kiss, and came away. Accompanied my son and daughter Cooper in their remove to their new house. Went to tell Joseph, and Mr. Belcher saw me by the South Meetinghouse though 'twas duskish, and said I had been at house-warming, (he had been at our house). Invited me to drink a glass of wine at his house at 7. and eat part of the pasty provided for the Commissioners' voyage

to Casco-Bay. His Excellency, Madam Belcher, S. S. Col. Fitch, Mr. D. Oliver, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, M. Welsted, Mr. White, Mr. Belcher sat down. At coming home gave us of the cake and ginger-bread to carry away. 'Twas about ten before we got home; Mr. Oliver and I waited on the Governour to his gate; and then Mr. Oliver would wait on me home.

8^r 6th Lecture-day, Mr. Cutler, President of the Connecticut College, preached in Dr. C. Mather's turn. He made an excellent discourse from Heb. xi. 14. For they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country. Bro^r Odlin, Son Sewall of Brooklin, and Mary Hirst dine with me. I ask'd Mary of Madam Lord, Mr. Oliver and wife, and bid her present my service to them. 8^r 6th A little after 6. p. m. I went to Madam Winthrop's. She was not within. I gave Sarah Chickering the maid 2^s, Juno, who brought in wood, 1^s Afterward the nurse came in, I gave her 18^d, having no other small bill. After awhile Dr. Noyes came in with his mother; and quickly after his wife came in: They sat talking, I think, till eight o'clock. I said I fear'd I might be some interruption to their business: Dr. Noyes reply'd pleasantly: He fear'd they might be an interruption to me, and went away. Madam seem'd to harp upon the same string. Must take care of her children; could not leave that house and neighbourhood where she had dwelt so long. I told her she might do her children as much or more good by bestowing what she laid out in house-keeping, upon them. Said her son would be

of age the 7th of August. I said it might be inconvenient for her to dwell with her daughter-in-law, who must be mistress of the house. I gave her a piece of Mr. Belcher's cake and ginger-bread wrapped up in a clean sheet of paper ; told her of her father's kindness to me when Treasurer, and I Constable. My daughter Judith was gone from me and I was more lonesome — might help to forward one another in our journey to Canaan. — Mr. Eyre came within the door ; I saluted him, ask'd how Mr. Clark did, and he went away. I took leave about 9 o'clock. I told [her] I came now to refresh her memory as to Monday-night ; said she had not forgot it. In discourse with her, I ask'd leave to speak with her sister ; I meant to gain Mad^m Mico's favour to persuade her sister. She seem'd surpris'd and displeas'd, and said she was in the same condition! . . .

In the evening I visited Madam Winthrop, who treated me with a great deal of courtesy ; wine, marmalade. I gave her a News-Letter about the Thanksgiving ; Proposals, for sake of the Verses for David Jeffries. She tells me Dr. Increase Mather visited her this day, in Mr. Hutchinson's coach. . . .

8^r 11th I writ a few Lines to Madam Winthrop to this purpose : “ Madam, These wait on you with Mr. Mayhew's Sermon, and Account of the state of the Indians on Martha's Vinyard. I thank you for your unmerited favours of yesterday ; and hope to have the happiness of waiting on you to-morrow before eight o'clock after Noon. I pray God to keep you, and give you a joyful entrance upon the

two hundred and twenty-ninth year of Christopher Columbus his Discovery ; and take leave, who am, Madam, your humble Serv^t S. S."

. . . 8^r 12. Mrs. Anne Cotton came to door ('twas before 8.) said Madam Winthrop was within, directed me into the little room, where she was full of work behind a stand ; Mrs. Cotton came in and stood. Madam Winthrop pointed to her to set me a chair. Madam Winthrop's countenance was much changed from what 'twas on Monday, look'd dark and lowering. At last, the work, (black stuff or silk) was taken away, I got my chair in place, had some converse, but very cold and indifferent to what 'twas before Ask'd her to acquit me of rudeness if I drew off her glove. Enquiring the reason, I told her 'twas great odds between handling a dead goat, and a living lady. Got it off. I told her I had one petition to ask of her, that was, that she would take off the negative she laid on me the third of October ; She readily answer'd she could not, and enlarg'd upon it ; She told me of it so soon as she could ; could not leave her house, children, neighbours, business. I told her she might do some good to help and support me. Mentioning Mrs. Gookin, Nath., the widow Weld was spoken of ; said I had visited Mrs. Denison. I told her Yes ! Afterward I said, If after a first and second vagary she would accept of me returning, her victorious kindness and good will would be very obliging. She thank'd me for my book, (Mr. Mayhew's Sermon), but said not a word of the letter. When she insisted on the negative, I pray'd there might be no more

thunder and lightning, I should not sleep all night. I gave her Dr. Preston, 'The Church's Marriage and the Church's Carriage, which cost me 6^s at the sale. The door standing open, Mr. Airs came in, hung up his hat, and sat down. After awhile, Madam Winthrop moving, he went out. Jn^o Eyre look'd in, I said How do ye, or, your servant Mr. Eyre: but heard no word from him. Sarah fill'd a glass of wine, she drank to me, I to her, She sent Juno home with me with a good lantern, I gave her 6^d and bid her thank her mistress. In some of our discourse, I told her I had rather go the Stone-House adjoining to her, than to come to her against her mind. Told her the reason why I came every other night was lest I should drink too deep draughts of pleasure. She had talk'd of Canary, her kisses were to me better than the best Canary. Explain'd the expression concerning Columbus.

. . . 8^h 17. In the evening I visited Madam Winthrop, who treated me courteously, but not in clean linen as sometimes. She said, she did not know whether I would come again, or no. I ask'd her how she could so impute inconstancy to me. (I had not visited her since Wednesday night being unable to get over the indisposition received by the treatment received that night, and *I must* in it seem'd to sound like a made piece of formality.) Gave her this day's Gazette. Heard David Jeffries say the Lord's Prayer, and some other portions of the Scriptures. He came to the door, and ask'd me to go into chamber, where his grandmother was tending little Katy, to whom she had given physic;

but I chose to sit below. Dr. Noyes and his wife came in, and sat a considerable time ; had been visiting son and daughter Cooper. Juno came home with me.

8^r 18. Visited Madam Mico, who came to me in a splendid dress. I said, It may be you have heard of my visiting Madam Winthrop, her sister. She answer'd, her sister had told her of it. I ask'd her good will in the affair. She answer'd, If her sister were for it, she should not hinder it. I gave her Mr. Homes's Sermon. She gave me a glass of Canary, entertain'd me with good discourse, and a respectful remembrance of my first wife. I took leave.

8^r 19. Midweek. Visited Madam Winthrop ; Sarah told me she was at Mr. Walley's, would not come home till late. I gave her Hannah 3 oranges with her duty, not knowing whether I should find her or no. Was ready to go home : but said if I knew she was there, I would go thither. Sarah seem'd to speak with pretty good courage, She would be there. I went and found her there, with Mr. Walley and his wife in the little room below. At 7 o'clock I mentioned going home ; at 8. I put on my coat, and quickly waited on her home. She found occasion to speak loud to the servant, as if she had a mind to be known. Was courteous to me ; but took occasion to speak pretty earnestly about my keeping a coach : I said 'twould cost £100. per annum : she said 'twould cost but £40. Spake much against John Winthrop, his false-heartedness. Mr.

Eyre came in and sat awhile ; I offer'd him Dr. Incr. Mather's Sermons, whereof Mr. Appleton's Ordination Sermon was one ; said he had them already. I said I would give him another. Exit. Came away somewhat late.

8^r 20. . . . Madam Winthrop not being at Lecture, I went thither first ; found her very serene with her daughter Noyes, Mrs. Dering, and the widow Shipreev sitting at a little table, she in her arm'd chair. She drank to me, and I to Mrs. Noyes. After awhile pray'd the favour to speak with her. She took one of the candles, and went into the best room, clos'd the shutters, sat down upon the couch. She told me Madam Usher had been there, and said the coach must be set on wheels, and not by rusting. She spake something of my needing a wig. Ask'd me what her sister said to me. I told her, She said, If her sister were for it, she would not hinder it. But I told her, she did not say she would be glad to have me for her brother. Said, I shall keep you in the cold, and asked her if she would be within to morrow night, for we had had but a running feat. She said she could not tell whether she should, or no. I took leave. As were drinking at the Governour's, he said : In England the ladies minded little more than that they might have money, and coaches to ride in. I said, And New England brooks its name. At which Mr. Dudley smiled. Gov^r said they were not quite so bad here.

8^r 21. Friday, My son, the Minister, came to me p. m. by appointment and we pray one for

another in the Old Chamber ; more especially respecting my courtship. About 6. o'clock I go to Madam Winthrop's ; Sarah told me her mistress was gone out, but did not tell me whither she went. She presently order'd me a fire ; so I went in, having Dr. Sibb's Bowels with me to read. I read the two first Sermons, still no body came in : at last about 9. o'clock Mr. Jn^o Eyre came in ; I took the opportunity to say to him as I had done to Mrs. Noyes before, that I hoped my visiting his mother would not be disagreeable to him ; He answered me with much respect. When 'twas about 9. o'clock he of himself said he would go and call her, she was but at one of his brothers : A while after I heard Madam Winthrop's voice, enquiring somthing about John. After a good while and clapping the garden door twice or thrice, she came in. I mention'd something of the lateness ; she banter'd me, and said I was later. She receiv'd me courteously. I ask'd when our proceedings should be made public : She said They were like to be no more public than they were already. Offer'd me no wine that I remember. I rose up at 11 o'clock to come away, saying I would put on my coat, she offer'd not to help me. I pray'd her that Juno might light me home, she open'd the shutter, and said 'twas pretty light abroad ; Juno was weary and gone to bed. So I came home by star-light as well as I could. . . .

Octob^r 24. I went in the Hackney Coach through the Common, stop'd at Madam Winthrop's (had told her I would take my departure from thence). Sarah came to the door with Katy in her arms : but I did

not think to take notice of the child. Call'd her mistress. I told her, being encourag'd by David Jeffries' loving eyes, and sweet words, I was come to enquire whether she could find in her heart to leave that house and neighbourhood, and go and dwell with me at the South-end ; I think she said softly, Not yet. I told her it did not lie in my lands to keep a coach. If I should, I should be in danger to be brought to keep company with her neighbour Brooker, (he was a little before sent to prison for debt). Told her I had an antipathy against those who would pretend to give themselves ; but nothing of their estate. I would a proportion of my estate with my self. And I supposed she would do so. As to a Perriwig, My best and greatest Friend, I could not possibly have a greater, began to find me with hair before I was born, and had continued to do so ever since ; and I could not find in my heart to go to another. She commended the book I gave her, Dr. Preston, the Church Marriage ; quoted him saying 'twas inconvenient keeping out of a fashion commonly used. I said the time and tide did circumscribe my visit. She gave me a dram of black-cherry brandy, and gave me a lump of the Sugar that was in it. She wish'd me a good journey. I pray'd God to keep her, and came away. Had a very pleasant journey to Salem. . . .

October 31. At night I visited Madam Winthrop about 6. p. m. They told me she was gone to Madam Mico's. I went thither and found she was gone ; so return'd to her house, read the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians in Mr. Eyre's Latin Bible. After the

clock struck 8. I began to read the 103. Psalm. Mr. Wendell came in from his warehouse. Ask'd me if I were alone? Spake very kindly to me, offer'd me to call Madam Winthrop. I told him, She would be angry, had been at Mrs. Mico's; he help'd me on with my coat and I came home: left the Gazette in the Bible, which told Sarah of, bid her present my service to Mrs. Winthrop, and tell her I had been to wait on her if she had been at home.

Nov^r 1. I was so taken up that I could not go if I would.

Nov. 2. Midweek, went again and found Mrs. Alden there, who quickly went out. Gave her about $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of sugar almonds, cost 3^s per £. Carried them on Monday. She seem'd pleas'd with them, ask'd what they cost. Spake of giving her a hundred pounds per annum if I died before her. Ask'd her what sum she would give me, if she should die first? Said I would give her time to consider of it. She said she heard as if I had given all to my children by deeds of gift. I told her 'twas a mistake, Point-Judith was mine &c. That in England I own'd, my father's desire was that it should go to my eldest son; 'twas 20£ per annum; she thought 'twas forty. I think when I seem'd to excuse pressing this, she seemed to think 'twas best to speak of it; a long winter was coming on. Gave me a glass or two of Canary.

Nov^r 4th Friday, Went again, about 7. o'clock; found there Mr. John Walley and his wife: sat discoursing pleasantly. I shew'd them Isaac Moses's

[an Indian] writing. Madam W. serv'd comfits to us. After a-while a table was spread, and supper was set. I urg'd Mr. Walley to crave a blessing ; but he put it upon me. About 9. they went away. I ask'd Madam what fashioned neck-lace I should present her with, She said, None at all. I ask'd her Whereabout we left off last time ; mention'd what I had offer'd to give her ; Ask'd her what she would give me ; She said she could not change her condition : She had said so from the beginning ; could not be so far from her children, the Lecture. Quoted the Apostle Paul affirming that a single life was better than a married. I answer'd That was for the present distress. Said she had not pleasure in things of that nature as formerly : I said, you are the fitter to make a wife. If she held in that mind, I must go home and bewail my rashness in making more haste than good speed. However, considering the supper, I desired her to be within next Monday night, if we liv'd so long. Assented. She charg'd me with saying, that she must put away Juno, if she came to me : I utterly denied it, it never came in my heart ; yet she insisted upon it ; saying it came in upon discourse about the Indian woman that obtained her freedom this Court. About 10. I said I would not disturb the good orders of her house, and came away. She not seeming pleas'd with my coming away. Spake to her about David Jeffries, had not seen him.

Monday, Nov: 7th My son pray'd in the Old Chamber. Our time had been taken up by son and daughter Cooper's Visit ; so that I only read the 130th

and 143. Psalm. Twas on the account of my courtship, I went to Mad. Winthrop ; found her rocking her little Katy in the cradle. I excus'd my coming so late (near eight). She set me an arm'd chair and cushion ; and so the cradle was between her arm'd chair and mine. Gave her the remnant of my almonds ; She did not eat of them as before ; but laid them away ; I said I came to enquire whether she had alter'd her mind since Friday, or remained of the same mind still. She said, Thereabouts. I told her I loved her, and was so fond as to think that she loved me : she said had a great respect for me. I told her, I had made her an offer, without asking any advice ; she had so many to advise with, that 'twas an hindrance. The fire was come to one short brand besides the block, which brand was set up in end ; at last it fell to pieces, and no recruit was made : She gave me a glass of wine. I think I repeated again that I would go home and bewail my rashness in making more haste than good speed. I would endeavour to contain myself, and not go on to solicit her to do that which she could not consent to. Took leave of her. As came down the steps she bid me have a care. Treated me courteously. Told her she had enter'd the 4th year of her widowhood. I had given her the News-Letter before : I did not bid her draw off her glove as sometime I had done. Her dress was not so clean as sometime it had been. Jehovah jireh !

Midweek, 9^r 9^t Dine at Bro^r Stoddard's : were so kind as to enquire of me if they should invite M^m Winthrop ; I anwer'd No. . . .

About the middle of Dec^r Madam Winthrop made a treat for her children ; Mr. Sewall, Prince, Wiloughby : I knew nothing of it ; but the same day abode in the Council Chamber for fear of the rain, and din'd alone upon Kilby's pies and good beer.

AN INTERLUDE.

March 5, 1720/1. . . . Mr. Prince, P.M., preached a funeral sermon from Psalm 90 : 10. Gave Capt. Hill a good character. Just as I sat down in my seat one of my fore-teeth in my under jaw came out, and I put it in my pocket. This old servant and daughter of music leaving me, does thereby give me warning that I must shortly resign my head. The Lord help me to do it cheerfully.

Saturday, July 15, 1721. . . . Call and sit awhile with Madam Ruggles. She tells me they had been up all night, her daughter, Joseph Ruggles's wife, was brought to bed of a daughter. I showed my willingness to renew my old acquaintance (*as a suitor*). She expressed her inability to be serviceable. Gave me cider to drink. I came home Thursday, Aug. 3 (1721), went in the coach and visited Mrs. Ruggles after Lecture. She seems resolved not to move out of that house. May be of some use there ; none at Boston — till she be carried out ; made some difficulty to accept an Election Sermon, lest it should be an obligation on her. The coach staying long (going to Boston for a new fare) I made some excuse for my stay ; she said should be glad to wait upon me till midnight, provided I should solicit her no

more ; or to that effect. I said she was willing to get rid of me. She answered, That was too sharp. I gave her Mr. Moodey's Election Sermon, marbled, with her name written in it.

Copy of a Letter to Mrs. Mary Gibbs, Widow,
at Newtown, Jan^y 12th, 1721/2.

Madam : Your removal out of town and the severity of the winter, are the reason of my making you this epistolatory visit. In times past (as I remember) you were minded that I should marry you, by giving you to your desirable bridegroom. Some sense of this intended respect abides with me still ; and puts me upon enquiring whether you be willing that I should marry you now, by becoming your husband. Aged, feeble and exhausted as I am, your favorable answer to this enquiry, in a few lines, the candor of it will much oblige Madam your humble serv^t. S.S.

MADAM GIBBS.

[They were married March 29, 1722. She survived him.]

THE SELLING OF JOSEPH.

A MEMORIAL.

“ For as much liberty is in real value next unto life : None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature consideration.”

THE numerousness of slaves at this day in the province, and the uneasiness of them under their slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation

of it be firmly and well laid ; so as to sustain the vast weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all men, as they are the sons of Adam, are coheirs ; and have equal right unto liberty, and all other outward comforts of life. “ God hath given the earth [with all its commodities] unto the sons of Adam,” Psal. cxv. 16. “ And hath made of one blood, all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation : That they should seek the Lord. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God,” etc. Acts xvii. 26, 27, 29. Now although the title given by the last Adam doth infinitely better men’s estates, respecting God and themselves ; and grants them a most beneficial and inviolable lease under the broad seal of heaven, who were before only tenants at will : yet through the indulgence of God to our first parents after the fall, the outward estate of all and every of their children remains the same, as to one another. So that originally and naturally there is no such thing as slavery. Joseph was rightfully no more a slave to his brethren, than they were to him ; and they had no more authority to sell him than they had to slay him. And if they had nothing to do to sell him, the Ishmaelites bargaining with them, and paying down twenty pieces of silver, could not make a title. Neither could Potiphar have any better interest in him than the Ishmaelites had. Gen. xxxvii. 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead alteration of property, seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to humanity. There is no proportion between twenty pieces of silver and liberty. The commodity itself is the claimer. If

Arabian gold be imported in any quantities, most are afraid to meddle with it, though they might have it at easy rates, lest if it should have been wrongfully taken from the owners, it should kindle a fire to the consumption of their whole estate. 'Tis pity there should be more caution used in buying a horse, or a little lifeless dust, than there is in purchasing men and women : whenas they are the offspring of God, and their liberty is,

— *Auro pretiosior omni.*

And seeing God hath said, “He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.” Exod. xxi. 16. This law being of everlasting equity, wherein man-stealing is ranked among the most atrocious of capital crimes, what louder cry can there be made of that celebrated warning,

Carveat emptor !

And all things considered, it would conduce more to the welfare of the province, to have white servants for a term of years, than to have slaves for life. Few can endure to hear of a negro's being made free ; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well ; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden liberty renders them unwilling servants. And there is such a disparity in their conditions, color and hair, that they can never embody with us and grow up into orderly families, to the peopling of the land : but still remain in our body politic as a kind of extravasate blood. As many negro men as there are among us, so many empty places there are in our train bands, and the places taken up of men that might make husbands for our daughters. And the sons and daughters of New England would

become more like Jacob and Rachel, if this slavery were thrust quite out of doors. Moreover, it is too well known what temptations masters are under, to connive at the fornication of their slaves ; lest they should be obliged to find them wives or pay their fines. It seems to be practically pleaded that they might be lawless ; 'tis thought much of, that the law should have satisfaction for their thefts and other immoralities ; by which means, holiness to the Lord is more rarely engraven upon this sort of servitude. It is likewise most lamentable to think how, in taking negroes out of Africa and selling of them here, that which God has joined together men do boldly rend asunder ; men from their country, husbands from their wives, parents from their children. How horrible is the uncleanness, immorality, if not murder, that the ships are guilty of that bring great crowds of these miserable men and women ! Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous usage of our friends and kinsfolk in Africa, it might not be unseasonable to inquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the Africans to become slaves among ourselves. And it may be a question whether all the benefit received by negro slaves will balance the account of cash laid out upon them ; and for the redemption of our own enslaved friends out of Africa. Besides all the persons and estates that have perished there.

Obj. 1. These blackamoors are of the posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the curse of slavery. Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.

Answ. Of all offices, one would not beg this, viz., uncalled for, to be an executioner of the vindictive wrath of God ; the extent and duration of which is

to us uncertain. If this ever was a commission, how do we know but that it is long since out of date? Many have found it to their cost, that a prophetic denunciation of judgment against a person or people would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, Hazael might justify himself in all he did against his master, and the Israelites, from II. Kings viii. 10, 12.

But it is possible that, by cursory reading, this text may have been mistaken. For Canaan is the person cursed three times over, without the mentioning of Cham. Good expositors suppose the curse entailed on him, and that this prophecy was accomplished in the extirpation of the Canaanites, and in the servitude of the Gibeonites. *Vide pareum*. Whereas the blackamoors are not descended of Canaan, but of Cush. Psal. lxxviii. 31. "Princes shall come out of Egypt (Mizraim) Ethiopia (Cush) shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Under which names, all Africa may be comprehended; and their promised conversion ought to be prayed for. Jer. xiii. 23. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" This shows that black men are the posterity of Cush, who time out of mind have been distinguished by their color. And for want of the true, Ovid assigns a fabulous cause of it:

*Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem.*

Metamorph. lib. 2.

Obj. 2. The *nigers* are brought out of a pagan country into places where the gospel is preached.

Answ. Evil must not be done, that good may

come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive benefit accruing to the church of God, and to Joseph personally, did not rectify his brethren's sale of him.

Obj. 3. The Africans have wars one with another : our ships bring lawful captives taken in those wars.

Answ. For aught is known, their wars are much such as were between Jacob's sons and their brother Joseph. If they be between town and town, provincial or national, every war is upon one side unjust. An unlawful war can't make lawful captives. And by receiving, we are in danger to promote and partake in their barbarous cruelties. I am sure, if some gentlemen should go down to the Brewsters to take the air and fish, and a stronger party from Hull should surprise them and sell them for slaves to a ship outward bound, they would think themselves unjustly dealt with ; both by sellers and buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared we have no other kind of title to our *nigers*. "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets." Matt. vii. 12.

Obj. 4. Abraham had servants bought with his money, and born in his house.

Answ. Until the circumstances of Abraham's purchase be recorded, no argument can be drawn from it. In the meantime charity obliges us to conclude that he knew it was lawful and good.

It is observable that the Israelites were strictly forbidden the buying or selling one another for slaves. Levit. xxv. 39, 46. Jer. xxxiv. 8-22. And God gaged his blessing in lieu of any loss they might conceive they suffered thereby. Deut. xv. 18. And

since the partition wall is broken down, inordinate self-love should likewise be demolished. God expects that Christians should be of a more ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. Christians should carry it to all the world, as the Israelites were to carry it one towards another. And for men obstinately to persist in holding their neighbours and brethren under the rigor of perpetual bondage, seems to be no proper way of gaining assurance that God has given them spiritual freedom. Our blessed Saviour has altered the measures of the ancient love-song, and set it to a most excellent new tune, which all ought to be ambitious of learning. Matt. v. 43, 44. John xii. 34. These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing they are the sons and daughters of the first Adam, the brethren and sisters of the last Adam, and the offspring of God, they ought to be treated with a respect agreeable.

SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT.

SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT, a Boston school-teacher and graphic diarist, was born in Boston in 1666, the daughter of Captain Thomas Kemble, a merchant. She married Richard Knight, was left a widow about 1703, and in 1706 opened a school, where she had the honor of training Benjamin Franklin, and the responsibility of nursing the literary aspirations of Samuel Mather. She was popularly known as Madame Knight, and had some reputation for excellence in the art of teaching composition. After seven years she moved to Norwalk, Connecticut, where she was fined for selling liquors to the Indians, but protested her innocence, accusing her own maid. From what she has to say about strong waters in her Journal, one must hope that she was the victim of a misunderstanding. She died near Norwalk on Christmas Day, 1727. She is now remembered for her account of a journey from Boston to New York in the year 1704, a series of sprightly descriptions of early settlements, of inn life, and of the customs and hardships of colonial travel. It was first edited in 1825, by Theodore Dwight and was reprinted in 1865 with additional biographical information.

ON HORSEBACK FROM BOSTON TO NEW
YORK IN 1704.

[FROM THE JOURNALS OF MADAM KNIGHT, ETC.,
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS. 1825.]

MONDAY, October the second, 1704. — About three o'clock afternoon, I began my journey from Boston to New Haven, being about two hundred mile. My kinsman, Captain Robert Luist, waited on me as far as Dedham, where I was to meet the western post.

I visited the Rev. Mr. Belcher, the minister of the town, and tarried there till evening, in hopes the post would come along. But he not coming, I resolved to go to Billings's where he used to lodge, being twelve miles further. But being ignorant of the way, Madam Belcher, seeing no persuasions of her good spouse's or hers could prevail with me to lodge there that night, very kindly went with me to the tavern, where I hoped to get my guide, and desired the hostess to inquire of her guests whether any of them would go with me. But they being tied by the lips to a pewter engine, scarcely allowed themselves time to say what clownish. . . . [Here half a page of the MS. is gone.] Pieces of eight, I told her no, I would not be accessory to such extortion.

“Then John shan't go,” says she. “No, indeed, shan't he ;” and held forth at that rate a long time, that I began to fear I was got among the quaking tribe, believing not a limber-tongued sister among them could outdo Madam Hostess.

Upon this, to my no small surprise, son John arose, and gravely demanded what I would give him to go with me? "Give you?" says I, "are you John?" "Yes," says he, "for want of a better;" and behold! this John looked as old as my host, and perhaps had been a man in the last century. "Well, Mr. John," says I, "make your demands." "Why, half a piece of eight and a dram," says John. I agreed, and gave him a dram (now) in hand to bind the bargain.

My hostess catechised John for going so cheap, saying his poor wife would break her heart. . . . [Here half a page of the MS. is gone.]

His shade on his horse resembled a globe on a gate post. His habit, horse and furniture, its looks and goings incomparably answered the rest.

Thus jogging on with an easy pace, my guide telling me it was dangerous to ride hard in the night (which his horse had the sense to avoid), he entertained me with the adventures he had passed by late riding, and imminent dangers he had escaped, so that, remembering the heroes in "Parismus" and the "Knight of the Oracle," I did'nt know but I had met with a prince disguised.

When we had rid about an hour, we came into a thick swamp, which by reason of a great fog, very much startled me, it being now very dark. But nothing dismayed John: he had encountered a thousand and a thousand such swamps, having a universal knowledge in the woods; and readily answered all my inquiries which were not a few.

In about an hour, or something more, after we left the swamp, we came to Billings's, where I was to

lodge. My guide dismounted and very complacently helped me down and showed the door, signing to me with his hand to go in ; which I gladly did — but had not gone many steps into the room, ere I was interrogated by a young lady I understood afterwards was the eldest daughter of the family, with these, or words to this purpose ; viz., “ Law for me ! — what in the world brings you here at this time of night ? I never see a woman on the road so dreadful late in all the days of my versal life. Who are you ? Where are you going ? I’m scared out of my wits ! ” — with much more of the same kind. I stood aghast, preparing to reply, when in comes my guide — to him madam turned, roaring out : “ Lawful heart, John, is it you ? — how de do ! Where in the world are you going with this woman ? Who is she ? ” John made no answer, but sat down in the corner, fumbled out his black junk, and saluted that instead of Deb ; she then turned again to me and fell anew into her silly questions, without asking me to sit down.

I told her she treated me very rudely, and I did not think it my duty to answer her unmannerly questions. But to get rid of them, I told her I came there to have the post’s company with me to-morrow on my journey, etc. Miss stared awhile, drew a chair, bade me sit, and then ran up stairs and put on two or three rings (or else I had not seen them before), and returning, set herself just before me, showing the way to Reding, that I might see her ornaments, perhaps to gain the more respect. But her granam’s new rung sow, had it appeared, would have affected me as much. I paid honest John with money and dram according to contract, and dismissed him, and prayed

Miss to show me where I must lodge. She conducted me to a parlor in a little back lean-to, which was almost filled with the bedstead, which was so high that I was forced to climb on a chair to get up to the wretched bed that lay on it ; on which having stretched my tired limbs, and laid my head on a sad-colored pillow, I began to think on the transactions of the past day.

Tuesday, October the third, about 8 in the morning, I with the post proceeded forward without observing any thing remarkable ; and about two, afternoon, arrived at the post's second stage, where the western post met him and exchanged letters. Here, having called for something to eat, the woman brought in a twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter ; and, laying it on the board, tugged for life to bring it into a capacity to spread ; which having with great pains accomplished, she served in a dish of pork and cabbage, I suppose the remains of dinner. The sauce was of a deep purple, which I thought was boiled in her dye kettle ; the bread was Indian, and everything on the table service agreeable to these. I, being hungry got a little down ; but my stomach was soon cloyed, and what cabbage I swallowed served me for a cud the whole day after.

Having here discharged the ordinary for self and guide (as I understood was the custom), about three afternoon went on with my third guide, who rode very hard ; and having crossed Providence ferry, we came to a river which they generally ride through. But I dare not venture ; so the post got a lad and canoe to carry me to t'other side, and he rode through and led my horse. The canoe was very small and

shallow, so that when we were in she seemed ready to take in water, which greatly terrified me, and caused me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes steady, not daring so much as to lodge my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than t'other, nor so much as think on Lot's wife, for a wry thought would have overset our wherry ; but was soon put out of this pain, by feeling the canoe on shore, which I as soon almost saluted with my feet ; and rewarding my sculler, again mounted and made the best of our way forwards. . . .

Now was the glorious luminary, with his swift coursers, arrived at his stage, leaving poor me with the rest of this part of the lower world in darkness, with which *we* were soon surrounded. The only glimmering we now had was from the spangled skies, whose imperfect reflections rendered every object formidable. Each lifeless trunk, with its shattered limbs, appeared an armed enemy ; and every little stump like a ravenous devourer. Nor could I so much as discern my guide, when at any distance, which added to the terror.

Thus, absolutely lost in thought and dying with the very thoughts of drowning, I came up with the post, whom I did not see till even with his horse : he told me he stopped for me, and we rode on very deliberately a few paces, when we entered a thicket of trees and shrubs, and I perceived by the horse's going we were on the descent of a hill, which, as we came nearer the bottom, was totally dark with the trees that surrounded it. But I knew by the going of the horse we had entered the water, which my

guide told me was the hazardous river he had told me of ; and he, riding up close to my side, bid me not fear — we should be over immediately. I now rallied all the courage I was mistress of, knowing that I must either venture my fate of drowning, or be left like the children in the wood. So, as the post bid me, I gave reins to my nag ; and sitting as steady as just before in the canoe, in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which he told me was the Narragansett country.

Being come to Mr. Haven's, I was very civilly received, and courteously entertained, in a clean, comfortable house ; and the good woman was very active in helping off my riding clothes, and then asked what I would eat. I told her I had some chocolate, if she would prepare it ; which with the help of some milk, and a little clean brass kettle, she soon effected to my satisfaction. I then betook me to my apartment, which was a little room parted from the kitchen by a single board partition ; where, after I had noted the occurrences of the past day, I went to bed, which, though pretty hard, yet neat and handsome. But I could get no sleep, because of the clamor of some of the town toppers in next room, who were entered into a strong debate concerning the signification of the name of their country ; viz. *Narragansett*. One said it was named so by the Indians, because there grew a brier there, of a prodigious height and bigness, the like hardly ever known, called by the Indians *Narragansett* ; and quotes an Indian of so barbarous a name for his author, that I could not write it. His antagonist replied no — it was from a spring it had its name, which he well knew where it was, which was extreme cold in summer, and as hot as could be imagined in the winter,

which was much resorted to by the natives, and by them called *Narragansett* (hot and cold), and that was the original of their place's name — with a thousand impertinences not worth notice, which he uttered with such a roaring voice and thundering blows with the fist of wickedness on the table, that it pierced my very head. I heartily fretted, and wished them tongue tied ; but with as little success as a friend of mine once, who was (as she said) kept a whole night awake, on a journey, by a country lieutenant and a sergeant, ensign and a deacon, contriving how to bring a triangle into a square. They kept calling for t'other gill, which, while they were swallowing, was some intermission ; but, presently, like oil to fire, increased the flame. I set my candle on a chest by the bedside, and sitting up, fell to my old way of composing my resentments, in the following manner :

I ask thy aid, O potent Rum !
To charm these wrangling topers dumb.
Thou hast their giddy brains possest —
The man confounded with the beast —
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy fumes :
O still their tongues till morning comes !

And I know not but my wishes took effect ; for the dispute soon ended with t'other dram ; and so good night !

Wednesday, October 4th. About four in the morning we set out for Kingston (for so was the town called) with a French doctor in our company. He and the post put on very furiously, so that I could not keep up with them, only as now and then they would stop till they saw me. This road was poorly furnished with accommodations for travellers, so that

we were forced to ride twenty-two miles by the post's account, but nearer thirty by mine, before we could bait so much as our horses, which I exceedingly complained of. But the post encouraged me, by saying we should be well accommodated anon at Mr. Devil's, a few miles further. But I questioned whether we ought to go to the devil to be helped out of affliction. However, like the rest of deluded souls that post to the infernal den, we made all possible speed to this devil's habitation ; where alighting, in full assurance of good accommodation, we were going in. But meeting his two daughters, as I supposed twins, — they so nearly resembled each other, both in features and habit, and looked as old as the devil himself, and quite as ugly, — we desired entertainment, but could hardly get a word out of them, till with our importunity, telling them our necessity, etc., they called the old sophister, who was as sparing of his words as his daughters had been, and no, or none, were the replies he made us to our demands. He differed only in this from the old fellow in t'other country : he let us depart. However, I thought it proper to warn poor travellers to endeavor to avoid falling into circumstances like ours, which at our next stage I sat down and did as followeth :

May all that dread the cruel fiend of night
Keep on, and not at this cursed mansion light.
'Tis hell ; 'tis hell ! and devils here do dwell :
Here dwells the Devil — surely this is hell.
Nothing but wants : a drop to cool your tongue
Can't be procured these cruel fiends among.
Plenty of horrid grins and looks severe,
Hunger and thirst, but pity's banished here —
'The right hand keep, if hell on earth you fear !

. . . Saturday, October 7th, we set out early in the morning, and being something unacquainted with the way, having asked it of some we met, they told us we must ride a mile or two and turn down a lane on the right hand ; and by their direction we rode on, but not yet coming to the turning, we met a young fellow and asked him how far it was to the lane which turned down towards Guilford. He said we must ride a little further, and turn down by the corner of Uncle Sam's lot. My guide vented his spleen at the lubber ; and we soon after came into the road, and keeping still on, without anything further remarkable, about two o'clock afternoon we arrived at New Haven, where I was received with all possible respects and civility. Here I discharged Mr. Wheeler with a reward to his satisfaction, and took some time to rest after so long and toilsome a journey ; and informed myself of the manners and customs of the place, and at the same time employed myself in the affair I went there upon.

They are governed by the same laws as we in Boston (or little differing), throughout this whole colony of Connecticut, and much the same way of Church government, and many of them good, sociable people, and I hope religious too ; but a little too much independent in their principles, and, as I have been told, were formerly in their zeal very rigid in their administrations towards such as their laws made offenders, even to a harmless kiss or innocent merri-ment among young people. Whipping being a frequent and counted an easy punishment, about which as other crimes, the judges were absolute in their sentences. They told me a pleasant story about a

pair of justices in those parts, which I may not omit the relation of.

A negro slave belonging to a man in the town, stole a hog's head from his master, and gave or sold it to an Indian, native of the place. The Indian sold it in the neighborhood, and so the theft was found out. Thereupon the heathen was seized, and carried to the Justice's house to be examined. But his worship (it seems) was gone into the field, with a brother in office to gather in his pompions ; whither the malefactor is hurried, and complaint made, and satisfaction in the name of justice demanded. Their worships can't proceed in form without a bench : whereupon they order one to be immediately erected, which, for want of fitter materials, they made with pompions — which being finished, down sit their worships, and the malefactor called, and by the senior justice interrogated after the following manner ; “ You Indian, why did you steal from this man ? You shouldn't do so — it's a grandy wicked thing to steal.” “ Hol't, Hol't,” cries justice junior, “ Brother, you speak negro to him ; I'll ask him. You, sirrah, why did you steal this man's hog's head ? ” “ Hog's head ? ” replies the Indian, “ me no stomany.” “ No ? ” says his worship ; and, pulling off his hat, patted his own head with his hand, says, “ Tatapa — you, Tatapa — you ; all one this. Hog's head all one this.” “ Hah ! ” says Netop, “ now me stomany that.” Whereupon the company fell into a great fit of laughter, even to roaring. Silence is commanded, but to no effect : for they continued perfectly shouting. “ Nay,” says his worship, in an angry tone, “ if it be so, *take me off the bench.*”

Their diversions in this part of the country are on lecture days and training days mostly : on the former there is riding from town to town.

And on training days the youth divert themselves by shooting at the target, as they call it (but it very much resembles a pillory), where he that hits nearest the white has some yards of red ribbon presented him, which being tied to his hat-band, the two ends streaming down his back, he is led away in triumph, with great applause, as the winners of the Olympic games. They generally marry very young : the males oftener, as I am told, under twenty than above : they generally make public weddings, and have a way something singular (as they say) in some of them, viz., just before joining hands the bridegroom quits the place, who is soon followed by the bridesmen, and as it were dragged back to duty — being the reverse to the former practice among us, to steal mistress bride.

There are great plenty of oysters all along by the sea side, as far as I rode in the colony, and those very good. And they generally lived very well and comfortably in their families. But too indulgent (especially the farmers) to their slaves : suffering too great familiarity from them, permitting them to sit at the table and eat with them (as they say to save time), and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived near the town where I lodged who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctually perform ; which caused some hard words between them ; but at length they put the matter to

arbitration and bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named—which done, the arbitrators, having heard the allegations of both parties, ordered the master to pay forty shillings to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the matter ended : the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

There are everywhere, in the towns as I passed, a number of Indians the natives of the country, and are the most savage of all the savages of that kind that I had ever seen : little or no care taken (as I heard upon enquiry) to make them otherwise. They have in some places lands of their own, and governed by laws of their own making ;—they marry many wives and at pleasure put them away, and on the least dislike or fickle humor, on either side, saying “Stand away,” to one another is a sufficient divorce. And indeed those uncomely “Stand aways” are too much in vogue among the English in this (indulgent) colony, as their records plentifully prove, and that on very trivial matters, of which some have been told me, but are not proper to be related by a female pen, though some of that foolish sex have had too large a share in the story.

They give the title of merchant to every trader ; who rate their goods according to the time and specie they pay in, viz., “Pay,” “Money,” “Pay as money,” and “Trusting.” “Pay” is grain, pork, beef, etc., at the prices set by the General Court that year ; “Money” is pieces of eight, reals, or Boston or bay shillings (as they call them), or “good hard money,” as sometimes silver coin is termed by them ; also “Wampum,” viz., Indian

beads, which serves for change. “Pay as money” is provisions, as aforesaid, one-third cheaper than as the Assembly or General Court sets it ; and “Trust” as they and the merchant agree for time.

Now, when the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, “Is your pay ready ?” Perhaps the chap replies, “Yes.” “What do you pay in ?” says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set ; as suppose he wants a sixpenny knife, in pay it is twelve pence—in pay as money, eight pence, and hard money, its own price, viz., six pence. It seems a very intricate way of trade and what *lex mercatoria* had not thought of.

Being at a merchant’s house, in comes a tall country fellow, with his alfogeos full of tobacco ; for they seldom loose their cud, but keep chewing and spitting as long as their eyes are open,—he advanced to the middle of the room, makes an awkward nod, and spitting a large deal of aromatic tincture, he gave a scrape with his shovel-like shoe, leaving a small shovel full of dirt on the floor, made a full stop, hugging his own pretty body with his hands under his arms, stood staring round him, like a cat let out of a basket. At last, like the creature Balaam rode on, he opened his mouth and said : “Have you any ribinen for hatbands to sell, I pray ?” The questions and answers about the pay being past, the ribbon is brought and opened. Bumpkin Simpvers cries, “It’s confounded gay, I vow ;” and beckoning to the door, in comes Joan Tawdry, dropping about fifty curtsies, and stands by him : he shows her the ribbon. “Law, you,” says she, “it’s right gent, do you take it, ’tis dread-

ful pretty.” Then she enquires, “Have you any hood silk, I pray?” which being brought and bought, “Have you any thread silk to sew it with?” says she; which being accommodated with they departed. They generally stand after they come in a great while speechless, and sometimes don’t say a word till they are asked what they want, which I impute to the awe they stand in of the merchants, who they are constantly almost indebted to; and must take what they bring without liberty to choose for themselves; but they serve them as well, making the merchants stay long enough for their pay.

We may observe here the great necessity and benefit both of education and conversation; for these people have as large a portion of mother wit, and sometimes a larger, than those who have been brought up in cities; but for want of improvements, render themselves almost ridiculous, as above. I should be glad if they would leave such follies, and am sure all that love clean houses (at least) would be glad on’t too.

They are generally very plain in their dress, throughout all the colony, as I saw, and follow one another in their modes; that you may know where they belong, especially the women, meet them where you will.

Their chief red letter day is St. Election, which is annually observed according to charter, to choose their governor — a blessing they can never be thankful enough for, as they will find, if ever it be their hard fortune to lose it. The present governor in Connecticut is the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., a gentleman of an ancient and honorable family, whose father was governor here sometime before, and his grandfather

had been governor of the Massachusetts. This gentleman is a very courteous and affable person, much given to hospitality, and has by his good services gained the affections of the people as much as any who had been before him in that post. . . .

The City of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a commodious river which is a fine harbor for shipping. The buildings, brick generally, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. . . .

They are generally of the Church of England and have a New England gentleman for their minister, and a very fine church set out with all customary requisites. There are also Dutch and divers conventicles, as they call them, viz., Baptist, Quakers, etc. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath, as in Boston and other places where I had been, but seem to deal with great exactness, as far as I see or deal with. They are sociable to one another and courteous and civil to strangers, and fare well in their houses. The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in their habit go loose, wear French muches, which are like a cap and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are set out with jewels of a large size and many in number ; and their fingers hooped with rings, some with large stones in them of many colors, as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as young.

They have vendues very frequently and make their earnings very well by them, for they treat with good liquor liberally, and the customers drink as liberally and generally pay for't as well, by

paying for that which they bid up briskly for after the sack has gone plentifully about, though sometimes good pennyworths are got there. Their diversion in the winter is riding sleighs about three or four miles out of town, where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends' houses, who handsomely treat them. Mr. Burroughs carried his spouse and daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowes, a gentlewoman that lived at a farmhouse, who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six dishes and choice beer and metheglin, cider, etc., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we met fifty or sixty sleighs that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they will turn out of the path for none except a loaded cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, their tables being as free to their neighbors as to themselves.

Having here transacted the affair I went upon and some other that fell in the way, after about a fortnight's stay there, I left New York with no little regret, and Thursday, December 21st, set out for New Haven with my kinsman Trowbridge, and the man that waited on me. . . .

January 6th. Being now well recruited and fit for business, I discoursed the persons I was concerned with, that we might finish in order to my return to Boston. They delayed as they had hitherto done, hoping to tire my patience. But I was resolute to stay and see an end of the matter, let it be never so much to my disadvantage; so, January 9th, they came again and promised the Wednesday following to go through with

the distribution of the estate, which they delayed till Thursday, and then came with new amusements. But at length, by the mediation of that holy good gentleman, the Rev. Mr. James Pierpont, the minister of New Haven, and with the advice and assistance of other our good friends, we came to an accommodation and distribution, which having finished, though not till February, the man that waited on me to York taking charge of me, I set out for Boston. We went from New Haven upon the ice (the ferry being not passable thereby), and the Rev. Mr. Pierpont, with Madam Prout, cousin Trowbridge, and divers others, were taking leave, we went onward without anything remarkable till we come to New London, and lodged again at Mr. Saltonstall's ; and here I dismissed my guide, and my generous entertainer provided me Mr. Samuel Rogers of that place to go home with me. I stayed a day here longer than I intended by the commands of the Hon. Governor Winthrop to stay and take a supper with him, whose wonderful civility I may not omit. The next morning I crossed the ferry to Groton, having had the honor of the company of Madam Livingston (who is the governor's daughter) and Mary Christophers and divers others to the boat ; and that night lodged at Stonington, and had roast beef and pumpkin sauce for supper. The next night at Havens, and had roast fowl, and the next day we came to a river, which, by reason of the freshets coming down, was swelled so high, we feared it impassable, and the rapid stream was very terrifying ; however, we must over, and that in a small canoe. Mr. Rogers assuring me of his good conduct, I, after a stay of near an hour on the shore for consultation, went into the

canoe, and Mr. Rogers paddled about one hundred yards up the creek by the shore side, turned into the swift stream and dexterously steering her, in a moment we came to the other side, as swiftly passing as an arrow shot out of the bow by a strong arm. I stayed on the shore till he returned to fetch our horses, which he caused to swim over, himself bringing the furniture in the canoe. But it is past my skill to express the exceeding fright all these transactions formed in me. We were now in the colony of the Massachusetts, and, taking lodgings at the first inn we came to, had a pretty difficult passage the next day, which was the second of March, by reason of the sloughy ways then thawed by the sun. Here I met Capt. John Richards of Boston, who was going home, so being very glad of his company we rode something harder than hitherto, and, missing my way in going up a very steep hill, my horse dropped down under me as dead ; this new surprise no little hurt me, meeting it just at the entrance into Dedham, from whence we intended to reach home that night. But was now obliged to get another horse there, and leave my own, resolving for Boston that night if possible. But in going over the causeway at Dedham, the bridge being overflowed by the high waters coming down, I very narrowly escaped falling over into the river, horse and all, which 'twas almost a miracle I did not. Now it grew late in the afternoon, and the people having very much discouraged us about the sloughy way, which they said we should find very difficult and hazardous, it so wrought on me, being tired and dispirited and disappointed of my desires of going home, that I agreed to lodge there that night, which we did at the house of one Draper, and the

next day being March 3d we got safe home to Boston, where I found my aged and tender mother and my dear and only child in good health, with open arms, ready to receive me, and my kind relations and friends flocking in to welcome me and hear the story of my transactions and travels, I having this day been five months from home ; and now I cannot fully express my joy and satisfaction, but desire sincerely to adore my Great Benefactor for thus graciously carrying forth and returning in safety his unworthy handmaid.

ROBERT BEVERLY.

ROBERT BEVERLY, the most interesting and one of the important of the colonial historians of Virginia, was born in that colony about 1675, and died there in 1716. At twenty-two he succeeded his father, Major Robert Beverly, as Clerk of the Council of Virginia, under Governor Andros. This office gave him access to documentary records, and in 1705, for reasons given in our selections, he published in London a *History of the Present State of Virginia*, in four books. This was not merely an account of present conditions, social or economic, though it gives us many intimate details of the daily life in Virginia during the first century of its settlement; it gave also an account of the settlement of the colony and of its history. The work attracted so much attention that two years after its first appearance a French translation of it with fourteen illustrations by Grivellius appeared in Amsterdam, and these illustrations were used in a second English edition in 1722. Beverly enjoys the distinction of being the first American in whose behalf the *habeas corpus* act was invoked, but he deserves the higher distinction of being remembered as a far-sighted, patriotic citizen, and a sensible, sprightly writer.

HOW HE CAME TO WRITE.

[FROM THE PREFACE TO THE "HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA." EDITION OF 1722.]

MY first business in the world being among the public records of my country, the active thoughts of my youth put me upon taking notes of the general administration of the government ; but with no other design than the gratification of my own inquisitive mind ; these lay by me for many years afterwards, obscure and secret, and would forever have done so, had not the following accident produced them.

In the year 1703, my affairs calling me to England, I was soon after my arrival, complimented by my bookseller with an intimation, that there was prepared for printing a general account of all her Majesty's Plantations in America, and his desire that I would overlook it before it was put to the press ; I agreed to overlook that part of it which related to Virginia.

Soon after this he brings me about six sheets of paper written, which contained the account of Virginia and Carolina. This it seems was to have answered a part of Mr. Oldmixon's British Empire in America. I very innocently (when I began to read) placed pen and paper by me, and made my observations upon the first page, but found it in the sequel so very faulty, and an abridgement only of some accounts that had been printed 60 or 70 years ago ; in which also he had chosen the most strange and untrue parts, and left out the more sincere and faithful, so that I laid aside all thoughts of farther observations, and gave it

only a reading ; and my bookseller for answer, that the account was too faulty and too imperfect to be mended. Withal telling him, that seeing I had in my junior days taken some notes of the government, which I then had with me in England, I would make him an account of my own country, if I could find time, while I staid in London. And this I should the rather undertake in justice to so fine a country ; because it has been so misrepresented to the common people of England, as to make them believe that the servants in Virginia are made to draw in cart and plow, as horses and oxen do in England, and that the country turns all people black, who go to live there, with other such prodigious phantasms.

Accordingly before I left London, I gave him a short history of the country, from the first settlement, with an account of its then state ; but I would not let him mingle it with Oldmixon's other account of the plantations, because I took them to be all of a piece with those I had seen of Virginia and Carolina, but desired mine to be printed by itself. And this I take to be the only reason of that gentleman's so severely reflecting upon me in his book, for I never saw him in my life that I know of.

GOVERNOR NICHOLSON'S CAREER.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK I.]

IN November, 1698, Francis Nicholson, Esq., was removed from Maryland, to be Governor of Virginia. But he went not then with that smoothness on his

brow he had carried with him, when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He talked then no more of improving of manufactures, towns, and trade. Neither was he pleased to make the acts of assembly the rule of his judgments, as formerly, but his own all sufficient will and pleasure. Instead of encouraging the manufactures, he sent over inhuman memorials against them, which were so opposite to all reason, that they refuted themselves. In one of these, he remonstrates, “That the tobacco of that country often bears so low a price, that it will not yield clothes to the people that make it ;” and yet presently after, in the same memorial, he recommends it to the parliament “to pass an act, forbidding the plantations to make their own clothing ;” which, in other words, is desiring a charitable law that the planters shall go naked. In a late memorial concerted between him and his creature, Col. Quarrey, ’tis most humbly proposed, “That all the English colonies on the continent of North America be reduced under one government and under one Viceroy ; and that a standing army be there kept on foot, to subdue the Queen’s enemies ;” surmising that they were intending to set up for themselves. . . .

Soon after his accession to the government, he procured the assembly, and courts of judicature, to be removed from Jamestown, where there were good accommodations for people, to Middle Plantation, where there were none. There he flattered himself with the fond imagination of being the founder of a new city. He marked out the streets in many places, so as that they might represent the figure of a *W*, in memory of his late Majesty King William, after whose name the town was called Williamsburg. There he

procured a stately fabric to be erected, which he placed opposite to the college, and graced it with the magnificent name of the "Capitol." . . .

In the second year of this gentleman's government, there happened an adventure very fortunate for him, which gave him much credit, that was the taking of a pirate within the Capes of that country.

It fell out that several merchant ships were got ready, and fallen down to Lynhaven Bay, near the mouth of James River, in order for sailing. A pirate being informed of this, and hearing that there was no man-of-war there, except a sixth rate, ventured within the Capes, and took several of the merchant ships. But a small vessel happened to come down the bay, and, seeing an engagement between the pirate and a merchantman, made a shift to get into the mouth of the James River, where the Shoram, a fifth rate man-of-war, was newly arrived. The sixth rate, commanded by Capt. John Aldred, was then on the Carine in Elizabeth River, in order for her return to England.

The Governor happened to be at that time at Kiquotan, sealing up his letters, and Captain Passenger, commander of the Shoram, went ashore to pay his respects to him. In the meanwhile news was brought that the pirate was got within the Capes ; upon which the captain was in haste to go aboard his ship. But the Governor stayed him a little promising to go along with him. The captain soon after asked his excuse, and went off, leaving him another boat, if he pleased to follow. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the news was brought ; but 'twas within night, before his Excellency went aboard, staying all that while ashore, upon some

weighty occasions. At last he followed, and by break of day the man-of-war was fairly out between the Capes and the pirate ; where, after ten hours' sharp engagement, the pirate was obliged to strike and surrender upon the terms of being left to the King's mercy.

Now it happened that three men of this pirate's gang were not on board their own ship at the time of the surrender, and so were not included in the articles of capitulation, but were tried in that country. In summing up the charge against them the (Governor being present), the Attorney-General extolled his Excellency's mighty courage and conduct, as if the honor of taking the pirate had been due to him. Upon this Capt. Passenger took the freedom to interrupt Mr. Attorney in open court, and said that he was commander of the Shoram ; that the pirates were his prisoners ; and that nobody had pretended to command in that engagement but himself. He further desired that the Governor who was then present would do him the justice to confess whether he had given the least word of command all that day, or directed any one thing during the whole fight. This, his Excellency acknowledged was true, and fairly yielded him the honor of that exploit to the Captain.

A PERNICIOUS WEED.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK II.]

THE James Town Weed (which resembles the thorny apple of Peru, and I take to be the plant so

called) is supposed to be one of the greatest coolers in the world. This being an early plant, was gathered very young for a boiled salad, by some of the soldiers sent thither to quell the Rebellion of Bacon ; and some of them eat plentifully of it, and the effect of which was a very pleasant comedy ; for they turned natural fools upon it for several days. One would blow up a feather in the air ; another would dart straws at it with much fury ; and another, stark naked, was sitting up in a corner, like a monkey, grinning and making mows at them ; a fourth would fondly kiss and paw his companions and sneer in their faces with a countenance more antic than any in a Dutch droll. In this frantic condition they were confined lest they should in their folly destroy themselves ; though it was observed that all their actions were full of innocence and good nature. . . . A thousand such simple tricks they played and after eleven days, returned to themselves again, not remembering anything that had passed.

Perhaps this was the same herb that Mark Antony's army met with in his retreat from the Parthian war and the Siege of Phraata, when such as had eaten thereof employed themselves with much earnestness and industry in grubbing up stones and removing them from one place to another, as if it had been a business of the greatest consequence. Wine, as the story says, was found a sovereign remedy for it ; which is likely enough, the malignity of this herb being cold.

OF THE SERVANTS AND SLAVES IN
VIRGINIA.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK IV. PART I.]

§ 50. Their servants they distinguish by the names of slaves for life, and servants for a time.

Slaves are the negroes, and their posterity, following the condition of the mother, according to the maxim, *partus sequitur ventrem*. They are called slaves in respect to the time of their servitude, because it is for life.

Servants are those which serve only for a few years, according to the time of indenture, or the custom of the country. The custom of the country takes place upon such as have no indentures. The law in this case is, that if such servants be under nineteen years of age, they must be brought into court, to have their age adjudged; and from the age they are judged to be of, they must serve until they reach four and twenty. But if they be adjudged upwards of nineteen they are then only to be servants for the term of five years.

§ 51. The male-servants, and slaves of both sexes, are employed together in tilling and manuring the ground, in sowing and planting tobacco, corn, etc. Some distinction, indeed, is made between them in their clothes, and food; but the work of both is no other than what the overseers, the freemen, and the planters themselves do.

Sufficient distinction is also made between the female-servants, and slaves; for a white woman is

rarely or never put to work in the ground, if she be good for anything else : and to discourage all planters from using any women so, their law makes female-servants working in the ground tithable, while it suffers all other white women to be absolutely exempted : Whereas on the other hand, it is a common thing to work a woman slave out of doors ; nor does the law make any distinction in her taxes, whether her work be abroad, or at home.

§ 52. Because I have heard how strangely cruel, *hot* and severe, the service of this country is represented in some parts of England ; I can't forbear affirming, *slave* that the work of their servants and slaves is no other *fair* than what every common freeman does. Neither is any servant required to do more in a day, than his overseer. And I can assure you with great truth, that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a day, as the husbandmen, and day-laborers in England. An overseer is a man, that having served his time, has acquired the skill and character of an experienced planter, and is therefore intrusted with the direction of the servants and slaves.

OF THE PEOPLE, INHABITANTS OF VIRGINIA.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK IV. PART II. CHAP. XV.]

§ 65. I can easily imagine with Sir Josiah Child, that this as well as all the rest of the plantations, was for the most part at first peopled by persons of low circumstances, and by such as were willing to seek

their fortunes in a foreign country. Nor was it hardly possible it should be otherwise ; for 'tis not likely that any man of a plentiful estate should voluntarily abandon a happy certainty, to roam after imaginary advantages, in a new world. Besides which uncertainty, he must have proposed to himself to encounter the infinite difficulties and dangers that attend a new settlement. These discouragements were sufficient to terrify any man that could live easy in England, from going to provoke his fortune in a strange land.

§ 66. Those that went over to that country first, were chiefly single men, who had not the incumbrance of wives and children in England ; and if they had they did not expose them to the fatigue and hazard of so long a voyage, until they saw how it should fare with themselves. From hence it came to pass, that when they were settled there in a comfortable way of subsisting a family, they grew sensible of the misfortune of wanting wives, and such as had left wives in England sent for them ; but the single men were put to their shifts. They excepted against the Indian women, on account of their being pagans, as well as their complexions, and for fear they should conspire with those of their own nation, to destroy their husbands. Under this difficulty they had no hopes, but that the plenty in which they lived, might invite modest women, of small fortunes, to go over thither from England. However, they would not receive any, but such as could carry sufficient certificate of their modesty and good behavior. Those, if they were but moderately qualified in other respects, might depend upon marrying very well in those days,

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without any fortune. Nay, the first planters were so far from expecting money with a woman, that 'twas a common thing for them to buy a deserving wife that carried good testimonials of her character, at the price of 100 pounds, and make themselves believe they had a bargain.

§ 67. But this way of peopling the colony was only at first ; for after the advantages of the climate, and the fruitfulness of the soil were well known, and all the dangers incident to infant settlement were over, people of better condition retired thither with their families, either to increase the estates they had before, or else to avoid being persecuted for their principles of religion, or government.

Thus in the time of the Rebellion in England, several good cavalier families went thither with their effects to escape the tyranny of the Usurper, or acknowledgement of his title, and so again, upon the Restoration, many people of the opposite party took refuge there, to shelter themselves from the king's resentment. But Virginia had not many of these last, because that country was famous for holding out the longest for the royal family, of any of the English dominions ; for which reason, the Roundheads went for the most part to New-England, as did most of those, that in the reign of King Charles II. were molested on account of their religion, though some of these fell likewise to the share of Virginia. As for malefactors condemned to transportation, tho' the greedy planter will always buy them, yet it is to be feared they will be very injurious to the country, which has already suffered many murders and robberies, the effects of that new law of England.

THE PASTIMES OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

[FROM THE SAME, BOOK IV. PART II.]

FOR their recreation, the plantations, orchards, and gardens constantly afford them fragrant and delightful walks. In their woods and fields, they have an unknown variety of vegetables, and other rarities of nature to discover and observe. They have hunting, fishing, and fowling, with which they entertain themselves an hundred ways. Here is the most good-nature and hospitality practised in the world, both toward friends and strangers ; but the worst of it is, this generosity is attended now and then with a little too much intemperance. The neighborhood is at much the same distance as in the country in England ; but with this advantage, that all the better sort of people have been abroad, and seen the world, by which means they are free from that stiffness and formality, which discover more civility than kindness. And besides, the goodness of the roads and the fairness of the weather bring people oftener together.

The Indians, as I have already observed, had in their hunting a way of concealing themselves, and coming up to the deer, under the blind of a stalking-head, in imitation of which many people have taught their horses to stalk it, that is, to walk gently by the huntsman's side, to cover him from the sight of the deer. Others cut down trees for the deer to browse upon, and lie in wait behind them. Others again set stakes at a certain distance within their fences,

where the deer had been used to leap over into a field of peas, which they love extremely ; these stakes they so place, as to run into the body of the deer, when he pitches, by which means they impale him.

They hunt their hares (which are very numerous) a-foot, with mongrels or swift dogs, which either catch them quickly, or force them to a hole in a hollow tree, whither all their hares generally tend, when they are closely pursued. As soon as they are thus holed, and have crawled up into the body of a tree, the business is to kindle a fire and smother them with smoke till they let go their hold and fall to the bottom stifled ; from whence they take them. If they have a mind to spare their lives, upon turning them loose they will be as fit as ever to hunt at another time : for the mischief done them by the smoke immediately wears off again.

They have another sort of hunting, which is very diverting, and that they call vermin-hunting ; it is performed a-foot, with small dogs in the night, by the light of the moon or stars. Thus in summer time they find abundance of raccoons, opossums, and foxes in the corn-fields, and about their plantations ; but at other times they must go into the woods for them. The method is to go out with three or four dogs, and, as soon as they come to the place, they bid the dogs seek out, and all the company follow immediately. Wherever a dog barks, you may depend upon finding the game ; and this alarm draws both men and dogs that way. If this sport be in the woods, the game by that time you come near it is perhaps mounted to the top of an high tree, and then

they detach a nimble fellow up after it, who must have a scuffle with the beast, before he can throw it down to the dogs ; and then the sport increases, to see the vermin encounter those little curs. . . .

For wolves they make traps, and set guns baited in the woods, so that, when he offers to seize the bait, he pulls the trigger, and the gun discharges upon him. What Elian and Pliny write of the horses being benumbed in their legs, if they tread in the track of a wolf, does not hold good here ; for I myself, and many others, have rid full speed after wolves in the woods, and have seen live ones taken out of a trap, and dragged at a horse's tail ; and yet those that followed on horse-back have not perceived any of their horses to falter in their pace. . . .

The inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who need no other recommendation, but the being human creatures. A stranger has no more to do, but to inquire upon the road where any gentleman or good housekeeper lives, and there he may depend upon being received with hospitality. This good nature is so general among their people, that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servant to entertain all visitors with everything the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often sit up, or lie upon a form or couch all night, to make room for a weary traveller to repose himself after his journey.

If there happen to be a churl, that either out of covetousness, or ill-nature, would not comply with this generous custom, he has a mark of infamy set upon him, and is abhorred by all.

